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ABSTRACT

This yearbook contains conference papers, commissioned papers, reprints of earlier works, and research-in-progress. They offer a retrospective view as well as address the mission and perspective of correctional education, its international dimension, correctional education in action, and current research. Papers include "Correctional Education and a Tradition of Excellence" (Thom Gehring); "Education in the Prisons of Tomorrow" (Austin MacCormick); "How to Stimulate Inmate Interest and Motivation in Education Programs" (Garrett Heyns); "Stone Walls Do Not a Prison Make: Institutional Challenge to Education and Social Work" (Norman Jepson); "Correctional Education and At-Risk Programs" (Ted Hofferth); "Culture in the Bureaucracy: The University in Prison" (Wayne Knights); "Prison Education: The Need for a Declaration of Basic Principles for the Treatment of Prisoners" (Lucien Morin, J. W. Cosman); "Policy and Practice: International and Comparative Approaches to Education in Prison Regimes" (Kenneth Neale); "Mandatory Literacy for Prisons" (Sylvia McCollum); "Teaching Women's Studies to Convicted Sex Offenders" (Holly Devor); "Eastern Fathers' Group: Educational and Support Group for Incarcerated Fathers" (C. S. Lanier, Jr., Glenn Fisher); "History of California's Arts-in-Corrections Program: A Case Study of Successful Prison Programming" (William Cleveland); "Advancing Adult Basic Education in Prisons: Recruitment, Selection, and Training of Inmate Tutors" (Michael Collins, John Niemi); "A Transitional Education Program for Adult Female Offenders" (T. A. Ryan); "Impact of Television on Prison Order" (Mark Hamm et al.); "Evaluating the Effects of Vocational Education on Inmates: A Research Model and Preliminary Results" (Elizabeth Downes et al.); "Educational Requirements for Correctional Officers: Standards for Entry Level and Promotion" (Darrell Ross); and "Problem-Solving Training and Parole Adjustment in High-Risk Young Offenders" (Katherine Larson). (YLB)

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Yearbook of Correctional Education

1989

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Yearbook of Correctional Education
1989

Edited by
Stephen Duguid

Institute for the Humanities
Simon Fraser University

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Preface

Stephen Duguid, Simon Fraser University

We walk a thin line in correctional education—serving our students, the state, society, and grand theories. As educators we empower our students by helping them acquire knowledge, skills, perspective, and autonomy. But, as components of the corrections enterprise, we *correct*, restrain, inhibit, and reform. We may even be linked (consciously or inherently) to the apparatus and ideology of punishment.

These are weighty matters, discussed at length in some of the contributions to this *Yearbook*. The sophistication and feeling explicit in these papers reflect the seriousness of our involvement with and concern about the issues. Thus the joy of empowerment and the anxiety of correction are the poles of our profession, the opposites of the dialectic of which "good" correctional education is the synthesis.

What constitutes "good" correctional education is also an issue in these papers: what works, how does it work when it *does* work, and how can we measure it? Such questions permeate our world, the criminal vocations of our students making for an even greater drive for accountability, outcomes, and measures than that faced by our colleagues in other sectors of education. Yet, many, perhaps most, of us *enjoy* teaching in prisons and correctional institutions. We tend to like our students, we take real pride in their accomplishments, and we have great hopes for their future success. Such a positive outlook may indeed be essential for classroom and administrative survival.

For, at the same time, we know the harsh reality and the direction in which it drives us. Some facts:

- Sixty percent of the adults in our prison systems, in the US and Canada, are there for *crimes against the person* and another twenty-five percent are there for *crimes against property*. (*Canadian Social Trends*, [Summer 1987]: 4)
- A recent American study notes that sixty-nine percent of 11,300 parolees in twenty-two states were re-arrested for more than 36,000 new felonies or serious misdemeanors within six years of release. (*South Carolina State*, Columbia, 25 May 1987)

- In 1985, it cost $40,000 a year to keep a prisoner in a Canadian federal penitentiary. (*Toronto Sun,* July 1985)

These are important concerns and, while they need not drive our programs or dominate our efforts, we ignore them at our peril. Whether we agree or disagree with Thom Gehring and others who issue the warning, we must be concerned with the "criminal plumber" issue, the idea that we may be turning out literate, skilled, self-confident, motivated, and educated criminals. In many of these papers the authors are therefore seeking rationales for our craft, evidence of our success, and arguments for doing more than "just" education.

As our discipline expands, it grows not only in size but also in sophistication, complexity, and mystery. Special education, post-secondary education, the new technologies in vocational education, literacy and cultural literacy, life skills and living skills, the new GED, cultural awareness programs, critical thinking programs, moral development programs, values education, cognitive problem-solving exercises—all these and more are now integral parts of correctional education. Adherents of each approach have valid claims to our attention: some argue for a massive attack on the social origins of crime via literacy and vocational programs while others seek the root of the matter in thinking, attitudes, and values.

In selecting the conference papers, commissioned papers, reprints of earlier works, and research-in-progress that comprise the *Yearbook,* the Editorial Board tried to be sensitive to the complexity of correctional education and at the same time strive for coherence of subject matter and quality of treatment. As Editor of this first volume of our yearbook, I owe that Editorial Board—John Merren of Arizona, Bruce Wolford of Kentucky, and Thom Gehring of New York—a significant debt of gratitude for their honest, prompt, and thoughtful responses to the many submissions we received. Their determination to make this venture truly reflective of the range and depth of our field together with Assistant Editor Maureen Nicholson's insistence on quality and consistency in presentation, form, and "feel" has made this volume a joy to conceive and I hope an equal joy to read and reflect upon.

PART I

Retrospective

CORRECTIONAL EDUCATION AND A TRADITION OF EXCELLENCE

PART I

Retrospective

CORRECTIONAL EDUCATION AND A TRADITION OF EXCELLENCE

Thom Gehring, Ulster County Community College

Context and perspective can be crucial lifelines for teachers "lost in corrections," wondering about mission, purpose, and values. Thom Gehring has taken it upon himself to be the historian of correctional education, the voice of our context. In this opening section of the Yearbook, *Gehring brings us two voices from our past and, with Austin MacCormick, presents us with our own founding father.*

—Stephen Duguid

The contribution of Austin MacCormick (1893–1979) was the culmination of all former work in prison education and the foundation of all that followed. His definitive work, *The Education of Adult Prisoners* (1931), developed from the nineteenth-century reformatory movement findings of warden Zebulon Brockway. Moreover, he trained under Sing Sing's reform warden, Thomas Mott Osborne, becoming Osborne's logical successor as leader of the prison reform movement. (Even the staff of the Osborne Association identified more closely with MacCormick's professional example than with that of Osborne.)

Throughout MacCormick's life, he was actively teaching, planning, consulting, and writing—a range which cannot be adequately discussed in these brief introductory remarks. He conducted the first national survey of US prison education (visiting 110 of the 114 institutions during 1927–28) and founded the Correctional Education Association (CEA), which began in 1930 as a standing committee on education. He served in various important roles including first assistant director of the Federal Bureau of Prisons (responsible for education programs beginning in 1930), commissioner of correction for New York City (beginning in 1934), and warden of Chillicothe Prison, Ohio. He was President Roosevelt's prison expert in Asia during World War II and chairman of the committee that investigated the Attica riot in the early 1970s. Further, MacCormick established the *Journal of Correctional Education* in 1937, serving as its first editor.

Nineteen thirty-one was a banner year: MacCormick had recently completed his groundbreaking survey, founded the CEA, and moved to Washington, D.C. That was the year he wrote the essay, "Education in the Prisons of Tomorrow," which includes fine examples of the eloquence of MacCormick's writing as well as a good discussion of the state of prison education and its long-term goals:

> The educational work of most of our prisons consists of a grade school closely patterned after public schools for juveniles, having a low aim, enrolling students unselectively, inadequately financed, inexpertly supervised and taught, occupying mean quarters, and using poor equipment .... There is not a single complete and well-rounded educational program, adequately financed and staffed, in any prison in the country .... [O]ur practice is always behind our belief; having long since recognized lack of education as one of the contributory causes of crime, we have not yet got around to doing very much about it. Moreover, we are not all convinced that it is worthwhile to do anything about it.

MacCormick seriously addressed these issues of how do we begin and what programs shall we offer by calling for the *professionalization* of the prison education field, with a focus on five major curricular areas: fundamental academic education, occupational education, health education, cultural education, and social education.

"Education in the Prisons of Tomorrow" is actually an abstract of his book which provides practical instructions about how to implement good prison education programs. While many modern correctional educators assume that special education for handicapped learners is a new phenomenon, MacCormick's work disproves that assumption: the first draft of *The Education of Adult Prisoners* appeared in 1929, comprising one complete handbook on the diagnostic-prescriptive-evaluative approach to individualized instruction, and another on group work. Precisely this individualized strategy for a diagnostic-prescriptive-evaluative method forms a major component of special education.

In 1939, MacCormick was the president of the American Prison Association (APA), now known as the American Correctional Association (ACA). And, thirteen years later, MacCormick authored the first draft of the now famous education standards in the ACA Commission for Accreditation of Corrections manual for adult prisons.

What then were MacCormick's fundamental ideas about the prison education schools of the future? For one thing, he thought it would be unrealistic to expect that certified, civilian teachers would become the staff majority. In the thirties, a few civilians trained inmate teachers, who in turn did most of the instructional work. MacCormick also thought libraries would become the most important part of prison schools. In addition, he believed that vocational teachers would be in charge of institutional industries.

What did MacCormick write about some of the issues we face today? Discussing mandatory education, he wrote: "Any state or institution regulation which merely requires all prisoners who lack a fifth grade education to attend the prison school and to follow a fixed course of study is a negation of the principle of individualization." In *The Education of Adult Prisoners,* MacCormick was even more forceful on this point: "The result of the effort to give a fifth grade education is usually that the prisoners get a fifth-rate education." (In the thirties, fifth grade was the generally accepted literacy "cutoff," just as eighth grade usually is today.)

What did MacCormick write about humanities instruction, which has recently been getting a great deal of attention?

> There will ... be [in the prison schools of the future] an opportunity for those of more advanced education to study what they need or desire, regardless of whether or not it has direct utilitarian value. Cultural courses will not be sniffed at; it will be recognized that whatever stimulates and nourishes the finer impulses and leads to a more wholesome and profitable use of leisure time bears a direct relation to the problem of crime.

About the underlying assumptions that should guide prison educators?

> It is inconsistent with sound educational practice to set up a scheme of education which treats all prisoners as being essentially the same education material .... We know that we cannot reform every wild young harum-scarum by teaching him the three R's and a skilled trade.... [The] educational philosophy [of the prison school of the future] will be to consider prisoners not only as criminals in need of reform, but also as adults in need of education.

In a 1948 speech MacCormick announced that correctional education had "at last achieved maturity." He made a similar declaration seventeen years earlier in "Education in the Prisons of Tomorrow":

> The scope of the education offered [in the future] will be broad, its aim high, its content significant, and its technique consistent with the best practice. It will not aim at quantity production; it will not be allowed to degenerate into meaningless routine; it will be inclusive in its offerings; it will be "adultized" in its approach.

From these statements, we can identify that MacCormick was an optimistic person and that he had ideals or "a high aim." But would we still take his work seriously, after nearly sixty years, if he had not *stood* for something? Of course not. Our respect should be extended only to leaders who demonstrate an interest in improving the world; those who have a vision and a plan for converting that vision into reality. MacCormick was not afraid to be labelled a "theorist," despite his emphasis on good practice, since he argued that "in all fields of education, theory is in advance of practice."

Although I never met the man face to face, MacCormick touched my life directly. My first professional assignment was in a reformatory where the educational administration emphasized the need to professionalize correctional education. Nevertheless, I did not read MacCormick's book until 1976, four years after I left that job. The book affected me the same way it had affected generations of correctional educators before me. It made me feel that I was *involved* in important work, and that I was *connected* with thousands of others who have been providing similar services at other locations. (Nineteen seventy-six was also the year Tom Murton, the character portrayed in the Robert Redford film *Brubaker*, accused MacCormick of being an inside member of the prison management Establishment, implying that he was therefore responsible for much of the brutality, coercion, and manipulation that occurs "inside." Nothing could be further from the truth: MacCormick was a gentle man who dedicated his entire adult life to prison reform.)

MacCormick was awarded the ACA's most prestigious honour, the E.R. Cass award. In 1978 he received another award, but by then he was confined to a wheelchair. At that time, I started to plan my "pilgrimage" to MacCormick, hoping that he would help me approach my work with greater clarity, so that I would not be so vulnerable to "good old boy" administrators and to institutional constraints. MacCormick, I believed, understood the problems of correctional education, had deeply studied the issues, and proposed solutions. But my visit never took place.

His death in October 1979 affected me profoundly. Helen Pecht and I wrote an article, which was really a lengthy obituary that appeared in the *CEA Newsletter*, about "The Number One Hero of Correctional Education." Soon thereafter my wife and I began interviewing people who had worked with MacCormick. We learned about his underlying assumptions about humanity, his work, and his life.

At one point, I remember, we saw his desk and sat in his chair. It was very humble, a plank atop two two-drawer file cabinets. MacCormick, the prison education fundraiser *par excellence*, who was close to President Franklin Roosevelt, Mayor Fiorella LaGuardia, General Douglas MacArthur, and Governor Nelson Rockefeller, as well as many others at the highest levels of government and philanthropy, *and* who had received the Presidential Medal of Merit (the US government's highest civilian honour), nevertheless had a reputation for taking lunch in New York City's Bowery, so that he could buy food for people in need. In political terms, he was a powerful man (although physically rather small), but he was a "hero of the people."

Behind his desk was a huge portrait of Thomas Mott Osborne, as "Inmate Tom Brown." That was the name Osborne used when he and MacCormick dressed up as convicts for a month's incarceration at the Maine State Prison, where MacCormick used the name "Inmate John Austin." They then wrote for the US Senate an *insider's* perspective on the need for prison reform.

Everything that has unfolded in prison education during the last several decades is somehow linked to MacCormick's work. In 1937, as if to tell him "we are trying to structure our prison schools according to the guidance you provided," the New York correctional education leadership group reported that "... the education of adult prisoners is progressing in New York State." At McNeil Island Penitentiary (Washington State) a ship was named after him, a New York State juvenile facility bears his name, and, at Riker's Island Correctional Facility (New York City), the prison school is named the Austin MacCormick Academy. Several new centres for the study of correctional education are now under consideration in the US, each possibly to be called the MacCormick Institute.

Also included in this first section of the *Yearbook* is Garrett Heyns' excellent 1956 talk to the American Correctional Congress, "How to Stimulate Inmate Interest and Motivation in Educational Programs." Instructive in its approach to correctional education issues, the talk provides a good basis for comparison with modern assumptions; it's a "period piece." For example, Heyns advises that the education program in prison will rise or fall according to the warden's orientation towards it. If the warden is not enthusiastic about education for inmates, Heyns argues, "any plan directed towards motivating inmates to participate is going to proceed at a snail's pace, for the average inmate is not resourceful enough to go counter to prevailing opinion." Heyns makes other comments, each suggesting similar sentiments.

The importance of this point of view is twofold. Firstly, Heyns' views have been gradually replaced by more reliable information from evaluation reports and other research studies, identifying anti-educational influences in most institutions, a host of institutional constraints, including impediments established by "good old boys." Although wardens are sometimes former teachers, and some wardens are enlightened about education, modern prison educators recognize that the scope of institutional administration is so broad that they cannot rely on the simple hope that the warden will prioritize education. Secondly, although MacCormick's essay was published twenty-five years before Heyns', MacCormick successfully transcends the biases of the historical period to address issues that are relatively unchanging and remain relevant in correctional education.

Together, Heyns and MacCormick offer much useful guidance for modern correctional education practice. MacCormick's very name announces to prison education professionals that their discipline has a proud history, provides useful literature for solving everyday problems, and serves as an excellent vehicle for reforming prisons and prisoners. Read Garrett Heyns' talk for its historical importance. And read "Education in the Prisons of Tomorrow," which is both informative and uplifting, as an excellent introduction to Austin MacCormick's work.

Education in the Prisons of Tomorrow

Austin H. MacCormick

A paper originally published in the Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science *in 1931, at which time Austin MacCormick was First Assistant Director of the US Federal Bureau of Prisons in charge of education programs.*

In the prisons of tomorrow education will be taken as a matter of course, as it is now in progressive communities which seek to offer varied educational opportunities to their citizens. It will not be considered the sole agency of rehabilitation; no exaggerated claims will be made for its efficacy. It will be recognized as having the same unquestionable place in prisons that it has in the world outside, and as probably having somewhat greater value because of the unusually heavy concentration of undereducated adults presented by our prison population. The classroom and the training shop will be built into the institution with no more debate than is given to the necessity of a hospital. The teacher and the vocational instructor will have their places on the staff as surely as the doctor and the turnkey.

An opportunity for education suited to his individual needs, desires, and capabilities will be extended to every prisoner, whether he is slow-witted or superintelligent, a manual labourer or a skilled artisan, an illiterate or a college graduate, a poor prospect for reform or a good one. The scope of the education offered will be broad, its aim high, its content significant, and its technique consistent with the best educational practice. It will not aim at quantity production; it will not be allowed to degenerate into meaningless routine; it will be inclusive in its offerings; it will be "adultized" in its approach. The place of education in the whole plan of rehabilitation will be recognized; the relation that formal education and training bear to the broader program of moral or social education will be fully appreciated.

THE YEARBOOK OF CORRECTIONAL EDUCATION (1989): 9–17

Education Lacking Among Adult Prisoners

In our American prisons and reformatories for men and women, in addition to those in jails and other short-term institutions, there are today over 120,000 adults. They are for the most part young, of normal intelligence, undereducated from the standpoint of formal schooling, and untrained vocationally. According to figures compiled by the United States Census Bureau for the year 1927 (the latest report published), of the prisoners committed to all the prisons and reformatories for adults in the country during that year, 16.9 percent of the men and 24.4 percent of the women were under twenty years of age, 44.2 percent of the men and 53.0 percent of the women were under twenty-five, and 62.8 percent of the men and 68.8 percent of the women were under thirty.

Intelligence tests applied to a substantial number of prisoners indicate that they do not differ greatly in intelligence from the adult population of the United States. Only approximations based on insufficient and sometimes untrustworthy data can be made with regard to general education and vocational training. Conservative estimates, however, indicate that adult prisoners as a group lack education of all types, and appear to justify the following generalizations. Of the total of 120,000 prisoners, about 20,000 cannot read a newspaper or write a simple personal letter. About 12,000 cannot do more than scrawl their names. Over 70,000 cannot pass a test covering the work of the sixth grade in public schools; they lack the formal education of a twelve-year-old child. Over 70,000 have never received organized training for an occupation, and about that number are unskilled workers. Nearly 40,000 have vocational training that is inadequate in terms of their intelligence rating.

There is no reason to believe that the population of the prison of tomorrow will differ greatly from that of today, except as the law makes greater use of such instruments as probation, and as penology demands a greater diversity of custodial institutions and makes the work of each more highly specialized. Unless we are thinking of the prison of *tomorrow's* tomorrow, we may well consider the type of prisoners to be dealt with as likely to be, for some time to come, very nearly what it is today.

Present Educational Efforts

What is the prison of today doing to meet the educational needs of these undereducated, untrained men and women? Very little, taking the country as a whole. Of the sixty or more prisons in the country, a dozen have no educational program whatever. In another dozen the educational work is extensive enough or effective enough to be counted as significant. In the remaining three dozen prisons it has so little significance as to be hardly worthy of note. The educational work of most of our prisons consists of a grade school closely patterned after public schools for juveniles, having a low aim, enrolling students unselectively, inadequately financed, inexpertly supervised and taught, occupying mean quarters, and using poor equipment and textual material. Curiously enough, not one prison has an organized program of vocational education. There is not a single complete and well-rounded educational program, adequately financed and staffed, in any prison in the country.

The situation in the reformatories for men and women, which have traditionally emphasized education, is somewhat more encouraging. In a number of the reformatories for men, elaborate and well-rounded programs are found. In one or two, educational work is meeting with comparative success, but in no instance is it adequately financed or staffed. The reformatories for women, almost without exception make education in the broadest sense their aim. They are the most encouraging of all our penal institutions. When they fail it is usually because they do not set up enough educational machinery, while the reformatories for men often fail because they set up too much. Education in the latter has become an unselective, mass treatment process in which a stereotyped routine is followed, and individualization is rarely attempted. In spite of their emphasis on education, in spite of their superficially impressive programs of academic and vocational education, the great majority of the reformatories for men must be charged with comparative failure.

There is, unfortunately, little reliable evidence on the question of what use released reformatory inmates make, for example, of their vocational training—the type of education whose after-value we should be able to assess most surely. There is some evidence that large numbers make very little use of their institutional training after release. Yet there has been a tremendous expansion of vocational education in the United States in the past decade, and training programs for workers are established by corporations because of their dollar-and-cents value. The burden of proof can fairly be thrown on those institutions whose released prisoners do not find their training effective or shun the occupations for which they were trained.

One need not seek far to find reasons for this failure on the part of institutions charged with the rehabilitation of human beings to make use of one of the recognized agencies of rehabilitation. Outworn punitive theories still survive; we are afraid of making the prisons too easy, too attractive; we still look on education as one of the dangerously soft phases of prison life. Again, our practice is always behind our belief; having long since recognized lack of education as one of the contributory causes of crime, we have not yet got around to doing very much about it. Moreover, we are not all convinced that it is worth while to do anything about it. The legislators who grant appropriations and the officials who ask for them are not alive to the possibilities of education or cognizant of how much is being accomplished today in free communities in the education of adults of the same general type as those found in prisons.

A Forward Movement

But the tide has turned. It turned, in fact, some time ago. To date we have only sporadic cases of worthwhile accomplishment to record, but they are becoming numerous enough and significant enough to justify the statement that a definite movement forward is in progress. California and Wisconsin have demonstrated for a number of years how effectively state university extension divisions can serve prisons. State departments of education in states as scattered as California, Kansas, and New Hampshire have entered the prison field. In Ohio, the State Department of Vocational Education has made a tentative approach to the problem of the prisons. In Michigan, education is being promoted in the new prison at Jackson and library work has been undertaken by the state library authorities. In Minnesota and Wisconsin, two varying types of state supervision and aid for library work have proved effective over a term of years.

Pennsylvania, having already developed a strong educational program in its reformatory for men, is planning to improve its penitentiary program. Illinois is now attacking the educational problem at Joliet as it did some years ago at the Southern Illinois Penitentiary, and the program at the reformatory for men (Pontiac) has been greatly improved. New Jersey is continuing to emphasize education, and the state library authorities have recently begun to cooperate actively with the penal authorities. New York is making a searching analysis of the educational shortcomings of its institutions. The Federal Bureau of Prisons has established a division having responsibility for education and library work, and has provided trained directors in Washington and resident staffs in each institution, with appropriations sufficient to make an effective demonstration possible. Two committees—the Committee on Institutional Libraries of the American Library Association and the Committee on Education of the American Prison Association—are working vigorously to stimulate educational and library work, and are disseminating information on valid theory and practice. These are only a part of the significant things that are now being done. It is probable that there has never been a more hopeful period, from the standpoint of education, in the history of the American prisons.

Goal for the Immediate Future

What then may we reasonably expect the prison of tomorrow, viewed as an educational institution, to be like? The prison will not be turned into a huge school. It will be rather a community of employed men and women, each of whom has his assigned task and each of whom has the opportunity to devote part of his time to that particular form of education which a skilled diagnosis of his individual case indicates he should follow. His educational program will not be a haphazard affair, but will be as carefully worked out as the diagnosis and the prescription which precede his medical treatment. The medical staff will lay out a plan of treatment which includes two extractions, four fillings, a tonsillectomy, and a course of venereal treatment. With somewhat less assurance, with greater chance of error, but just as carefully and thoughtfully, the educational staff will lay out a program which includes assignment to the carpenter shop, related instruction in the technique of the trade, a course in blueprint reading, and a short course in mathematics.

The old sterile prison routine will be a thing of the past for most men. Prisoner "A" will no longer go through a routine of running a machine in the shoe shop from 7:30 a.m. until 4:30 p.m., going "on the yard" from supper until twilight, and spending the hours between 7:00 p.m. and 7:00 a.m. in a dimly lighted, overcrowded cell. If his individual diagnosis indicates the desirability of such a program, a part of his hours in the shoe shop will be devoted to a special course in operating a machine of higher grade than the one to which he has been assigned, or he will be excused from the shop long enough to take a try-out course in a skilled occupation which he wishes to enter. While he is away from his machine his place will be taken by an apprentice who is taking a "vestibule course" for entrance into the shoe shop.

Prisoner "A" will go to school three evenings a week for instruction supplementary to his vocational training or for any other course which he wishes to follow. When he goes into the yard for recreation it will not be to mill around aimlessly with hundreds of other men, but to engage, if he wishes, in one of a dozen interesting and body-building athletic activities planned and supervised by a trained director of physical education. In the evening he will have the opportunity to go to an illustrated lecture in the prison auditorium, to read a book which a trained librarian has helped him to select, or, if he has earned the privilege, to go to a reading room, or to a workroom where he can have a bench and tools with which to work at some hobby or at his vocational interest.

There will be evening classes of all types for those whose work assignments demand that they be kept employed throughout the day. There will be day classes of all types for those whose work assignments are so adjusted that a part of the day can be devoted to education, and for those whose programs call for devoting the major portion of their time to education or vocational training.

Types of Education

What types of education shall we offer the prisoner? It is probable that we shall try to give every prisoner, so far as his time, ability, and interest permit, the opportunity to acquire whatever he needs of the following:

- fundamental academic education, designed to provide the intellectual equipment needed in further study and training and in everyday life;
- vocational education, designed to give training for an occupation;
- health education, designed to teach the fundamentals of personal and community health;
- cultural education, embracing the non-utilitarian fields which one enters for intellectual or aesthetic satisfaction alone; and
- social education, which includes moral and civic education, and to which all other types of education and all the institutional activities should contribute.

It is not assumed that we can give every prisoner all that this program implies, or that we should try to do so. We are compelled to decide to what each prisoner can best devote the limited time at his disposal. Education, moreover, must be individualized if it is not to be just another phase of the mass treatment process which we are now trying to eliminate from our penal institutions. In no part of the penal program is individualization needed more than in the educational work. It is inconsistent with sound educational practice to set up a scheme of education which treats all prisoners as being essentially the same educational material.

Various factors enter into the decision as to what any one prisoner can most profitably study—his antecedents, occupational history, previous education, mentality, emotional make-up, interests, capacity for perseverance, physical condition, plans for the future, the part of the country from which he comes and to which he is going on release, the specific points in which he is weak and strong educationally, the amount of time at his disposal, and so on. A course of study which is applicable to all and which has equal value for all cannot possibly be set up. Any state or institution regulation which merely requires all prisoners who lack a fifth grade education to attend the prison school and to follow a fixed course of study is a negation of the principle of individualization.

Academic education in the future will not be designed to meet the needs of the illiterate and the beginner alone, although these groups predominate in the prison population. There will also be an opportunity for those of more advanced education to study what they need or desire, regardless of whether or not it has direct utilitarian value. Cultural courses will not be sniffed at; it will be recognized that whatever stimulates and nourishes the finer impulses and leads to a more wholesome and profitable use of leisure time bears a direct relation to the problem of crime.

Education will not be exclusively vocational, although it will be recognized that vocational training probably increases the mathematical chances in favour of reform more surely than any other type of education, and that much of the program of academic education can most effectively be keyed to the occupational interests of prisoners. Vocational training will not be given in training shops and trade schools alone, but will be promoted by organizing the industries and the maintenance details of the institution for training as well as for production. The principle that a man learns best while participating, under instruction, in productive or useful labour will be recognized. Academic and vocational education will be closely correlated.

Finally, our present-day desire to socialize the individual will be translated into educational practice and the institution will be organized so as to promote progress toward that end. Moral education, taking the term in its sociological sense, will be the final aim of all education.

Prison Libraries

In the prisons of tomorrow the library will be an integral part of the educational system. It will function as an agency not only of wholesome recreation but also of direct and indirect education. It will be presided over by a trained librarian, with special training in modern methods of stimulating and guiding the interests of adult readers. The library will be a well-rounded collection of books, replenished by adequate annual appropriations and supplemented by the services of state libraries and other outside agencies.

To organize and direct the educational and library program, there will be trained staffs with salary schedules comparable to those in the educational world outside the prison. Until the day, which may never come, when the staff of academic teachers and vocational instructors will be large enough to carry the whole teaching load, the function of a number of staff members will be primarily the training and supervision of inmate teachers.

Educational progress, or evidence that the prisoner has made an honest attempt to take advantage of the opportunities for progress which education offers, will be taken into account when prisoners are considered for release by parole or discharge. Placement and follow-up work will be integrated with educational plans, and expert vocational guidance will be given as a matter of routine.

Objectives of Education

The prison of tomorrow will not be an educational Utopia in which every prisoner busies himself with his books and tools from morning to night. We know that we cannot reform every wild young harum-scarum by teaching him the three R's and a skilled trade. Some prisoners will always reject our educational offerings or will find the task of improvement too difficult and too unattractive. But it seems certain that both in the case of the young and the more mature prisoner it is worth while to repair every discoverable deficiency that may possibly have been a factor in his turning to crime.

The prison will be a place where it is possible, if one wishes, to make up for lost advantages or to add knowledge and skill which has already been acquired. Its educational philosophy will be to consider prisoners not only as criminals in need of reform, but also as adults in need of education. Its aim will be to extend to prisoners as individuals every type of educational opportunity that experience or sound reasoning shows may be of benefit or of interest to them, in the hope that they may thereby be fitted to live more competently, more honestly, more satisfyingly, and more cooperatively as members of society.

How to Stimulate Inmate Interest and Motivation in Educational Programs

Garrett Heyns

A talk given to the American Correctional Congress in Los Angeles on 26 and 31 August 1956, at which time Dr Heyns was Warden at Michigan State Reformatory in Ionia, Michigan.

To those acquainted with inmates of correctional institutions, stimulating inmate interest would not appear to be much of a problem. As they see it, prisons are full of men handicapped in making a living because of lack of education or skills. They should be jumping at the chance to go to school.

It is true that in correctional institutions which have such programs, one will find a number of qualified inmates who are from the outset eager to further their education. These are the men who are fully determined that their present criminal activity will also be their last. They are self-starters who need no prodding. They present no problem to the Classification Committee. They apply themselves assiduously and are—unfortunately—frequently our best "show pieces," for often in the field of corrections, as in many others, we take credit for prizes which fall in our laps, for which we actually did nothing, beyond supplying the laps.

If, however, we want to pride ourselves on achievement, our show pieces should be found among those successful products of our schools who initially required a great deal of stimulation before they would take part in the programs. We know that we have many inmates who have sufficient ability to profit from the educational opportunities offered, but who are not the least interested. They have drifted along thus far and have not the ability to envision the benefits gained from additional training. They are asleep, and we must awaken them.

How to do that? If we are to stimulate inmates' interest in our educational programs, we must begin by indoctrinating the head of the institution, by convincing him and his staff of the desirability of having a well-integrated, fully equipped, and aggressive educational set-up. If the warden believes that the school is for incompetents who fit in nowhere else in the institution's activities (based on the kind of thinking which holds that those who can work; others teach school); if he believes that those who want to go to school are looking for an easy go; if he is loath to spend money or energy on educational facilities; if he never shows up at the schools and never hands out a bit of praise to those who work in them, then those who promote educational programs are placed under almost insurmountable disadvantage, no matter how conscientious they may be. Inmates quickly sense what the warden values, and they are going to drag their feet at the thought of going to school. Shakespeare's boy "winding his way unwillingly to school" is showing a terrific burst of speed compared to them. The warden must be enthusiastic, and his staff must regard the educational program as of tremendous importance; or any plan directed toward motivating inmates to participate is going to proceed at a snail's pace, for the average inmate is not resourceful enough to go counter to prevailing opinion. The entire staff must be actively interested, must be constantly urging the inmates who have ability, to look into the matter of furthering their education. Such spirit on the part of the staff will rub off on the inmates, and will of itself constitute a powerful motivating force.

The job of indoctrinating the warden and his staff is chiefly the task of the educators within the institution, and its success is conditional upon great enthusiasm and boundless energy on the part of this group, whether it consists of one man, or many. If the educators are content with the crumbs which fall from the master's table, the program will be exceedingly circumscribed, with few participants—just a bit of window dressing for the institution and an opportunity for the administrator to say, "Oh yes, we have an educational program." Fortunately, our educators are not that kind of people.

One way in which this general staff interest can be aroused is by having the director of education include in the teaching activity as many as possible of the personnel of other departments. An institutional stenographer can be induced to teach a class in shorthand or stenotyping; an accountant, one in bookkeeping; the maintenance people can be urged to teach their trades in the vocational school. Establish baking and cooking schools, with theoretical instruction, in the institutional kitchen. If this cannot be done during the day, evening classes can be substituted. People cannot help but work for the success of activities in which they participate. And don't forget to list such staff people as members of your faculty, and to bring them into the school conferences. Make them feel they belong in the education program.

So much for that. Now as to arousing the interest of the inmates.

It is, of course, fundamental that the educational program have dignity and standing in the institution. This is not secured if the schools are allotted space which cannot be put to any other use and which is wholly unsuitable for educational facilities if the staff is too small and insufficiently trained; if equipment is inadequate and outmoded; if text books are tattered, outdated, and too few to meet the demand. I am not gainsaying the fact that an inspired Mark Hopkins sitting on a log can do a wonderful job at teaching, but such conditions are going to attract only the inspired pupil, and we are here concerned with those who must still be awakened.

To catch the interest of the inmate the program must be made meaningful to him and applicable to his needs. If it is not so organized, one cannot expect him to show any enthusiasm. There is nothing more discouraging to him than certain academic, dogmatic requirements which seem to him to have no connection to his immediate objective. Material must be so selected as to arrive at the objective before interest is lost. It should not be necessary to consume a lot of fodder before you get at the meat of the thing. It should not be necessary, for instance, to teach a full course in trigonometry to make a good machinist. We should include only the parts that are necessary to teach the inmate to do the job successfully.

To keep the inmate interested in the program there must be constant attention and follow through. He must feel that he is receiving recognition for his accomplishments; recognition from the administrators, from the Classification Committee, from his counsellors, and from the Parole Board. Certificates, or credit slips, issued to him from time to time or from step to step in his progress have great motivating value.

We have experienced that it has helped to give the program dignity and to recognize achievement if we have formal commencement or promotional exercises to honour those who have completed various courses. We now have them twice a year. We secure a speaker of note and invite the parents and friends of those whose achievements are being recognized. Inviting these outsiders is of tremendous value. For once in his life the inmate has done something of which he is proud, and he wants his parents in on it. On the other hand, often for the first time, the parents learn of some worthwhile effort on the part of their son, and they want to be present to enjoy the occasion with him. This is a form of recognition for achievement, and everybody wants such recognition. If later the man can walk out of the front door with his diploma in his possession, he leaves with a token that he has spent his time at accomplishment, he has done more than do time. He has done something worth while for himself.

It is, of course, important that the educational program of the institution receive recognition in the world outside. The home community should recognize it. If a young man at our institution has started high school work in the home high school, and then finishes the course in our school, we usually can induce the local high school to issue him its diploma. The universities and colleges of the state should recognize the institution's high school credits. We have several "alumni" among the students in the institutions of higher learning in the state.

Something should be said about the selection of a teaching staff. Obviously, great care should be taken in this selection. You cannot expect public school castoffs to succeed in a correctional educational program. The teacher selected must be well trained and must be capable of challenging the inmate. There is nothing that will take the place of a good teacher in stimulating interest.

I said at the outset that we should begin with the head of the institution. Actually we should go further back than that. We should acquaint the judges of the state with our educational program. We have, for instance, some judges in Michigan who, when they have a young man before them for sentence, will bring out the pamphlet which describes the educational program at the Reformatory, and will tell the man what can be learned there, and will say, "I recommend that you be permitted to finish high school. If you get your diploma there, that is just as valid as that from any other high school. Then, after you have completed high school, I want you to learn a trade." Such a statement furnishes motivation of tremendous force.

Thus this business of arousing interest—of stimulating motivation—for the education program is not the job of any one man. There must be a combination of forces. To arouse interest one must have an enthusiastic warden, and an interested staff, inspired educators, a fully equipped, well-integrated program. And then we can have "show pieces" to whose achievements we will all have contributed.

PART II

Reflections

MISSION AND PERSPECTIVE IN CORRECTIONAL EDUCATION

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Reflection is a luxury too often passed over in the quest for performance, achievement, or just survival. It is our reflective powers that can give us, each day, the sense of context and perspective that in turn provides a solid foundation for both achievement and satisfaction. It is reflection as well which plays a key role in defining our mission, collectively and individually. In this era of Mission Statements we would do well to reflect on the nature of education, prisons, society, and human nature before adopting in too quick a manner a mission that lies beyond our grasp or outside our province.

The three papers in this section are concerned, in quite unique and individual ways, with gaining perspective through reflection upon wider issues. Norman Jepson in "Stone Walls Do Not A Prison Make" asks us to consider the prison itself in our thinking about education. In particular, he pursues the issue of isolation which is inherent in the concept of the prison. Accepting the premise (which he admits early on is arguable) that isolation should be minimized or overcome, Jepson proceeds to review the various aspects of the correctional context which involve contact between prisoner and community. The specific references are to Great Britain and, while the terminology may ring strange to the North American reader (e.g., Boards of Visitors, Home Office, NADPAS, NAPO), the issues and questions will ring true. Jepson wants us to think about just what is prison education *for*.

Ted Hofferth's "Correctional Education and At-Risk Programs" goes to the heart of the current debate in North America about the state and goals of education, particularly about the role of education in addressing, in a quite purposeful manner, the social ills which continue to plague our societies. Quoting Thomas Jefferson and George Washington on citizenship, and tracing the tradition of *using* education to bring about personal and social improvement, Hofferth makes a case for a more direct application of education in helping our most "at-risk" learners: prisoners. This is a gauntlet thrown down to those of us in correctional education, a challenge to abandon our sometimes imposed, sometimes self-imposed marginality to the formal worlds of both corrections and education, and assert instead the leadership position our experience and roles should rightly afford us. Correctional education, so perceived, is much more than a situation-specific subset of a more global whole, but rather can be seen as a vanguard, a source of rich experience for educators in the public schools and educators concerned with lifelong learning.

No dimension of correctional education has greater need of reflection than the ethical and substantive dilemmas posed by the name itself: *correctional education*. Wayne Knights in his 1985 paper "Culture in the Bureaucracy" raises the issue of the potential dichotomy between "education" on the one hand and "corrections" on the other. Correction, rehabilitation, change, punishment, and all the other words associated with the state's correctional enterprise may be, probably are, antithetical to many long-held traditions about the liberating, empowering, freedom-enhancing function of education. Knights employs the work of Lucien Morin, Michel Foucault, and the Frankfurt School of Critical Theory to explore the issue of the "possibility" of education in prison. He concludes that education in prison is possible, under certain circumstances; that it is possible to acquire and maintain "cultural autonomy within the prison."

Stone Walls Do Not A Prison Make

INSTITUTIONAL CHALLENGE TO EDUCATION AND SOCIAL WORK

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This article is the published version of the Thirteenth Mansbridge Memorial Lecture given in 1986 through the Department of Adult and Continuing Education at the University of Leeds. Albert Mansbridge was a pioneer of adult education in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. The Mansbridge Lectures are financed by the Nationwide Building Society.

Just under forty years ago, in the years following the end of World War II, the 1944 Education Act was amended to enable local education authorities to undertake the provision of an educational service in the penal establishments of England and Wales. Some twenty years later, in the mid-1960s, probation officers entered the adult prisons in this country in order to contribute to the social work and welfare services available to prisoners. During the last two or three years the work of these "outside" organizations within the prison system has been reviewed. In the case of education there has been the Report of the House of Commons Education, Science and Arts Committee on Prison Education (House of Commons 1983), and in the case of probation the Home Office set up, in 1982, a working group to study the role of the probation officer in the adult penal establishments. It is with the interaction between such outside organizations and the community of prisoners and prison staff that this lecture is primarily concerned. It is hoped, however, that it will have a wider significance by raising questions about the value to both parties of an interaction between organizations which may have different priorities, both with regard to their objectives and the means by which they seek to achieve these objectives.

I propose to approach the subject in the following way. First I shall look briefly at the nature of prison isolation. The title of this lecture, "Stone Walls Do Not A Prison Make," was chosen partly to raise the question, "If not Stone Walls, what are the factors which separate the community of the prison from that of wider society?" Secondly, I shall sketch some of the ways in which the isolation has been broken down.

This may be achieved by prisoners and staff establishing and developing contacts with the outside society. It may, on the other hand, be achieved by individuals and organizations in outside society taking the initiative and establishing and developing contact with members of the prison community. It is within the context of this latter method of breaking down isolation that, thirdly, I shall refer briefly to two important studies which have recently been made: the one on Boards of Visitors (Maguire and Vagg 1984) and the other on the Prison Medical Service (Smith 1984). They will serve the useful purpose of raising general questions about the role of "outsiders." And these I shall use as a lead-in to the final sections, which will examine the contributions which probation, local education authorities, and other educational organizations make to the world of the prisoner and the prison staff, and, in turn, the benefits that they reap or may reap from their experience in prison work.

Isolation

Let me turn first to the nature of prison isolation. We have, in England and Wales, at present about 44–45,000 people in our penal establishments. They may be in prison for a few days or for a lifetime. They may have committed relatively trivial offences associated, for example, with disorderly behaviour whilst drunk, or they may be guilty of the most heinous and depraved crimes. They may be housed in our grossly overcrowded local prisons or they may be in dispersal prisons, where the physical constraints to escape, by means of stone walls, television surveillance, and guard dogs, are at their maximum; or they may be in the open prisons where the wire fence is a token form of physical security. At the same time, there are some 25,000 prison staff who experience some of the constraints, some of the feelings of isolation, which are experienced by the prisoners themselves. What is the nature of this isolation? In the first place, it may be seen in terms of constraints being put upon the physical mobility of prisoners and therefore their confinement to one geographical location. This form of isolation may be shared with many other institutions. It was Erving Goffman who, in the late 1950s and early 1960s, introduced the concept of the total institution and helped us to appreciate that in many respects the inhabitants of the prisons are subjected to the same kind of isolation as that experienced by, for example, the crew of a submarine or the inhabitants of a monastery. He wrote:

> A total institution may be defined as a place of residence and work where a large number of like situated individuals cut off from the wider society for an appreciable period of time, together lead an enclosed, formally administered round of life.
>
> Every institution captures something of the time and interest of its members and provides something of a world for them; in brief, every institution has encompassing tendencies. When we review the different institutions in our western society we find some that are encompassing to a degree discontinuously greater than the ones next in line. Their encompassing or total character is symbolized by the barrier to social intercourse with the outside and to departure that is often built right into the physical plant, such as locked doors, high walls, barb wire, cliffs, water, forests or moors. These establishments I am calling total institutions .... (Goffman 1961)

But the isolation experienced by prisoners may also stem from factors which are not shared by all or even most of other total institutions. Nils Christie writes in a series of essays commemorating the bicentenary of John Howard's *The State of the Prisons*:

> [W]e must not accept that prisons have no specific peculiarities. Prisons are peculiar institutions for the delivery of blame and pain. (Christie 1978)

The isolation of the prisoner may therefore be heightened by the sense of guilt which he may feel and which is underlined by a prison sentence and/or by the notion of blame which the public attach to the names prison and prisoner. Or it can be heightened to the extent that prisoners, and, in some respects prison staff, are treated by the public as abnormal. One of the contributors to George Mikes' book on prison wrote:

> I had been released and what interests me now is our separation from prisoners wherever they are and how to avoid it. It may be that we are the prisoners making for ourselves a prison of the normal. That is where we try to dwell, building the fences against abnormality and comment. (Franklin 1963)

Or the sense of isolation and separation, felt particularly by prison staff, may arise from the apathy or the ignorance about prisons of so many members of society. Many years ago, Galtung wrote:

> The irrelevance of the prison is a social dilemma in a peculiar kind of vacuum, for it attracts the serious attention of a few people only, except when extraordinary circumstances are reported in the prison .... The

> secrecy surrounding prisons and the indifference to them both contribute to the enormous attention given to conspicuous prison events. The hidden world is revealed, just as when the former nun writes her story. Somehow prisons do not belong to social reality. (Galtung 1961)

This sense of isolation and separation, stemming both from physical and psychological factors, from the attitudes of prisoners themselves and/or from that of the public outside, will be experienced with different degrees of intensity by different members of the prison community. Writing, not from a prison but from a monastery where he had gone for a temporary sojourn, Patrick Fermor writes:

> Back in my cell, I sat down before the new blotter and pens and sheets of clean foolscap. I had asked for quiet and solitude and peace and here it was; all I had to do now was to write. But an hour passed and nothing happened. It began to rain over the woods outside and a mood of depression and of unspeakable loneliness suddenly felled me like a hammer-stroke. (Fermor 1982)

The sense of loneliness and of depression for this writer subsided in a matter of days, but for some prisoners it will be a recurring problem. In a recent study, carried out by members of the Prison Directorate of Psychological Services and connected with the review of the role of the Probation Service in prisons, two of the most acute problems, identified by the prisoners themselves, were those of loneliness and depression (Directorate of Psychological Services 1983). But equally as powerful and still arising from the sense of isolation may be the feelings of impotence. The Morris's, in their study of Pentonville in the early 1960s, wrote with sensitivity that:

> Deprivation of liberty is meaningful to the extent to which a man is emotionally involved in the outside world .... It is not so much being shut in, as being unable to influence the course of events outside. And the feelings of impotence may extend to the feelings of powerlessness in face of the rules and routines of prison life itself. (Morris and Morris 1963)

Christopher Burney, recalling his experience of being imprisoned in wartime France, writes:

> I felt the sense of impotence, of inexorable subjection to a machine of nameless horror .... It was useless to think of taking action: there was nothing to fight, nor anywhere to go. (Burney 1984)

This "nowhere to go" underlines one of the features spelled out by Goffman in respect of total institutions:

> A basic social arrangement in modern society is that the individual tends to sleep, play and work in different places with different co-participants, under different authorities, and without an overall rational plan. The central feature of total institutions can be described as a breakdown of the barriers ordinarily separating these three spheres of life. (Goffman 1961)

I have long been impressed by this feature of an isolated community. In ordinary life most of us can escape from the threats, the humiliations, the fears, which may beset us from time to time in one area of our life and take refuge in another. Talking with prisoners some time ago in Wakefield prison about the problem of violence in prison, they said that, whilst the reality was that violence was more restricted than they had expected, there nevertheless was a fear of violence which was intensified by the fact that they lived their total existence with such restricted opportunities for escape within the prison. Finally, the factors which contribute to a sense of isolation and separation from the rest of society can engender in prison staff as well as in prisoners a sense of loss of status. In a survey I carried out some years ago, probation officers, assistant governors, and prison officers were asked to rate themselves in terms of status in relation to some thirty other occupations and also to indicate where they believed that the public would rate them. Whilst the assistant governors and the probation officers saw the public rating them at roughly the same status as they would rate themselves, prison officers saw the public rating them considerably lower than where they felt they ought to have been (Jepson 1975). One of the dynamics of the isolated prison community centres around this sense of loss of status by both prisoners and prison staff.

Reducing Isolation

The factors associated with isolation and the implications of a prison being separated from the rest of society, which I have outlined, are by no means comprehensive but they are sufficient to lead into posing the question of whether or not we do wish to reduce the isolation, and if we do, "Why and how?" It should not be assumed too readily that the answer is "Yes" to this question. There are at least two groups of people who would argue against the mitigation of isolation. There are those who believe in the old principle of less eligibility—the principle that the pains of imprisonment, which make imprisonment less attractive or less eligible than the life of outside, are an essential element of punishment. At the other extreme are those who argue that any attempt to modify the pains of imprisonment, to humanize prison, only results in the perpetuation of prison which they regard as fundamentally immoral. This is the line which is argued most powerfully by Thomas Mathieson in his book, *The Politics of Abolition* (1974), and it constitutes a very genuine dilemma for some who are most sensitive to the pains of imprisonment. But, for many, the answer to the question "Should the isolation of prison be broken down?" will be "Yes," and this answer will be prompted by a number of considerations. The first may well be an article of faith which invokes the well-known adage that a person is sent to prison *as* punishment and not *for* punishment, the implication being that anything which adds unnecessarily to the isolation of prison and its effect should be removed. A second consideration may be one based on the equally well-voiced claim that "you cannot train for freedom in captivity." Therefore, the more you can establish links between prison and outside society, the more likely it is that the prisoner, on release from prison, will be able to adjust to a life of freedom.

Finally, however, closer links between the prison and society, the breaking down of the prison's isolation, may, for some people, be justified on purely humanitarian grounds. In their submission to the May Committee (Committee of Inquiry into the United Kingdom Prison Services 1979), Roy King and Rodney Morgan (King and Morgan 1979; 1980) sought to spell out the concept of "humane containment." Humane containment, they argued, requires that the use of imprisonment and the degree of security in prison should both be reduced to that level which was absolutely essential for the protection of society. They further argued that it embraced the notion of the "normalization of prison," namely, that the standards of provision of services within prison should be no less than those in outside society, providing that this was consistent with the security aims of the prison. One of the best ways to achieve this, they proceeded to say, was to have as many services as possible within the prison provided by the agencies which were responsible for their provision in outside society.

This concept of normalization clearly leads us to consider the question of how isolation is or may be reduced. I would suggest that it can take one of two forms. Firstly, it can take the form of the prisoners or, indeed, the staff establishing better communications with outside society. One of the significant innovations in prisons over the last two decades has been the granting of permission for prisoners to have personal radio sets and the introduction of communal viewing of television. In a Council of Europe seminar in the early 1970s on the subject of "Relations of Prisoners with the Outside World," one Swiss commentator observed:

> The opening of the prisons to communication media changes the prison environment. The prisoner comes out of his isolation and forms his views regarding the events of all kinds that he witnesses. Subjects for conversation with his fellow prisoners are widened by the subjects and events recorded by papers, radio or television ....
>
> Relations with staff are also modified by knowledge of the events outside the prison. The prison officer frequently has watched the same transmissions as the prisoner in the evening .... The presence of the mass media in prisons helps to improve contact between prisoners and their families. It may bring about a closer fellowship between a prisoner and his wife, particularly when the couple, separated by imprisonment, agree to listen together to a particular radio broadcast. (Auberson 1973)

Similarly, the extension of facilities for writing letters and the introduction of telephone calls to outside the prison are clearly ways in which the factor of isolation can be reduced. At a more formal and legalistic level, the greater the opportunities for prisoners to appeal to, for example, the English courts and the European Council in respect of what they claim to be unjust treatment, the greater the interaction between the prison and the outside world (Zellick 1981). Meanwhile, in the case of the staff, the opportunity for them to live in different sections of the community rather than be concentrated in the immediate environs of the prison, is but one example of the way in which they may break down their feelings of isolation.

But the second way of increasing the interaction between prison and outside, and the one with which I am primarily concerned, takes the form of the outsiders entering and participating in the life of the institution. Again, this can assume many guises. At a highly personal level, it involves the frequency with which, and the environment in which, friends and relatives of prisoners come as visitors to the prison. At a more impersonal level, it is influenced by the manner in which the media see the prison and interpret it to the rest of society. So, for example, the entry of television crews into Strangeways and, more recently, their portrayal of the work of Grendon are notable attempts, whatever one may feel about the standard and fairness of the portrayal, to reduce the mystery and mystique associated with prisons. Likewise, the popularity of *Porridge* amongst prison staff and prisoners, as well as amongst the public, has, I imagine, done a great deal to broaden as well as to lighten our appreciation of the prison world from outside as well as inside. But within this wider context I now want to turn to the people who enter prisons for perhaps sustained periods of time and yet retain a responsibility and/or accountability, not only to the prison but to bodies outside the prison. I shall use the term "Outsider" in reference to these people rather than the more emotive terms of either "Stranger" or "Invader," but I would wish to incorporate the underlying significance of both these other terms. In its anthropological sense the term "Stranger" denotes a person who, coming from a different culture, brings a different perspective to the world he visits and who is, in turn, exposed to the culture of the community which is being visited (Johnson 1973). The term "Invader," meanwhile, is one used by Donald Schön, in a Reith lecture he gave on the general theme of dynamic conservatism, to denote an agent of change. In that lecture he argued that any organization requires both elements of *status quo* and of *change* and that, whilst one of the agents of change in any organization is the insurgent within, another is the invader without (Schön 1971).

Before I come at last to look at the role of Education and Probation within the prisons, I would like to mention two bodies that can in different ways be regarded as "outsiders" and who have acted in that capacity for much longer than either Education or Probation.

Boards of Visitors

The first of these are the Boards of Visitors, appointed by the Home Secretary to every penal establishment. In their official publication *Prisons and the Prisoner*, the Home Office define three main functions of the Boards of Visitors:

> 1. They constitute an independent body of representatives of the local community, to which any inmate may make a complaint or request ....
> 2. Their members regularly visit and inspect all parts of the establishment, paying particular reference to the state of the premises, the quality of the administration as it affects inmates and the treatment—in its widest sense—which inmates receive, with a view to reporting and making recommendations to the Home Secretary on any incompetence or abuse which may come to their notice.
> 3. As a superior disciplinary authority of the establishment, they adjudicate when inmates are charged with any of the relatively serious offences against discipline. (Home Office 1977)

The Home Office proceeds to outline a number of distinctive contributions which the Boards of Visitors can make, including to "bring to bear a fresh approach, an uncommitted point of view and a readiness to challenge long-established assumptions, which may remain unquestioned in an institutional setting; and help to interpret the institution to the local community and vice versa." I would at this stage wish to underline in particular firstly, the notion of the outsider's readiness to challenge long-established assumptions, and, secondly, the idea that communication between the community outside and the prison (which the outsider facilitates) is *a two-way process*.

As I indicated earlier, there has been published recently a report by two Research Fellows from the Centre for Criminological Research at the University of Oxford—Mike Maguire and Jon Vagg—under the title *The Watchdog Role of Boards of Visitors* (Maguire and Vagg 1984). The report does not deal with perhaps the most controversial aspect of the Boards of Visitors' responsibilities, namely their adjudicatory role, but it does deal extremely thoroughly with their watchdog role. They say:

> The central question to which we shall be addressing our attention concerns the effectiveness of Boards of Visitors as the Watchdogs of the Prison System.

They proceed to maintain that the necessary conditions of "effective watchdogging" are clarity of purpose, organizational efficiency, credibility, knowledge of the institution, critical awareness, and tenacity.

For my purpose it is useful to re-order these qualities and group them under two main headings. The first embraces those qualities related to the Board's capacity to carry out an inspectorial role. Thus, under "clarity of purpose" the writers observe:

> Those who work in institutions can all too easily allow their critical faculties to become blunted by operational necessity and quickly come to accept whatever standards and conditions prevail therein. Informed laymen who are not institutionalized in this way are uniquely well-qualified to see how and where the institutional values depart from those to be found in the outside world. One of our major criticisms of some Boards ... will be that they too often seemed to be ... adopting *institutional* standards and not those of the independent outsider.

Meanwhile, "critical awareness" and "tenacity" are "the qualities which must be displayed by individual members if the Board is to develop the kinds of independent standards and viewpoints referred to in our discussion of clarity of purpose." And, finally, under this heading of inspectorial qualities, is that of "organizational efficiency" which covers "[a] Board's ability in acquiring and handling information and in communicating and following up its own decisions." But the second grouping is concerned with the context in which the Boards of Visitors are operating. Effectivenesss is powerfully influenced by their "credibility" which "covers the question of how Boards appear in the eyes of prisoners and staff," and, closely connected with credibility, by the necessary quality of their "knowledge of the institution."

These attributes seem to me to pose the essential challenge to any "outsider" operating within the prison setting. The challenge may be stated in a number of questions:

- What are the qualities which justify my entry into a prison?
- How do I ensure that these qualities are sustained and influence my actions?
- How do I constructively and sympathetically go about the process of understanding the nature of the prison community?
- How in the process of translating objectives into action do I wed individual integrity with political sagacity?

I cannot in the context of this lecture do justice to the way in which this Report responds to such questions but, in the light of what I want to say later, may I identify four points. Firstly, there is the need for outsiders, who can so easily become immersed in the immediate problems of the prison, to take time out, and, as the Report says, "to sit down and discuss amongst themselves their basic aims." Secondly, there is the need to have a reference group outside the prison to whom formally or informally the individual or the group of individuals within a particular prison can turn to appraise the work of the "outsider." In the case of Boards of Visitors, this may underline the importance of an organization like the Association of Members of Boards of Visitors. Thirdly, there is the importance of the written record of activities or enterprises which can be submitted to, hopefully, sympathetic but critical scrutiny. Finally, there is the need for the outsider to acquire a knowledge about the institution which should not depend only, although this is very important, on the intermittent meetings with individual members of staff and with prisoners, but upon quite conscious and deliberate investigatory studies of the institution.

Prison Medical Service

If there are general issues to be learned from the study of Boards of Visitors, so there are from the examination of the Prison Medical Service carried out recently by Dr R. Smith and published under the title *The State of the Prisons* (Smith 1984). For the purpose of this lecture I want to single out the theme which Dr Smith develops in his paper on "Prison Doctors' Ethics: Invisibility and Quality." The general question which arises here, and it should not be taken as a rhetorical question, is whether it is possible for doctors, or any other professionals, to work effectively in an organization whose objectives and priorities may not equate with those of the profession unless they are, organizationally, part of the mainstream of their profession. The present Director of the Prison Medical Service, responding to Dr Smith's study, disputes the contention that the Service is outside the mainstream. He maintains:

> I estimate that about two-thirds of all the actual medical work done in prison establishments is carried out by doctors whose principal employment is with the National Health Service. These number 1,000 in all .... It provides a desirable degree of functional integration with the National Health Service and helps to ensure that prison medical practice equates with that of the community. (Kilgour 1984)

It nevertheless remains the case that the Prison Medical Service *per se* is outside the National Health Service, and Dr Smith, whilst paying tribute to the work of the Prison Medical Service which has to operate in an extremely challenging situation, questions whether "the prison medical practice equates with that of the community." He writes:

> Prison doctors do not have to work on their own as do some general practitioners but they are far from the mainstream .... Thus, the doctors who are responsible for an underprivileged and sickly group and who must daily tackle difficult ethical and social problems, do their work unobserved by the rest of the profession.

They labour, Dr Smith argues, "behind high walls and are usually never seen nor heard."

> Most come out occasionally to appear in court; some teach medical students; most have contacts with specialists and general practitioners; some write articles for their hard-to-find (if not actually secret) prison medical journal; and some speak at conferences. But most of Britain's doctors rarely meet one of the eighty-seven full-time doctors or even one of the 100 part-time doctors who work for the Prison Medical Service ....

Dr Smith then proceeds to examine some of the ethical problems confronting a prison doctor, as for example, the sedating of the violent patient, the overseeing of prisoners in the punishment block, the examination of prisoners suspected of trying to smuggle drugs or arms into the prison, the wider question of confidentiality. In such questions as these the problem is the balance that the doctor strikes between the interests of the institution and those of the individual prisoner. Dr Smith does point out, however, that:

> Many of the prison doctors whom I spoke to—including the Acting Director—thought that the ethical problems were exaggerated by outsiders. They were quite clear that their responsibility is to the patient, that they are bound by the same ethical code as all doctors and that therefore everything is straightforward.

But Dr Smith bluntly proceeds to say:

> They are perhaps failing to see the ethical implications inherent in so many of their problems and this blindness may result from working full-time in isolated and oppressive institutions.

Elsewhere he contends:

> It is with matters like these, where the line between what is for the benefit of the authorities and what is for the benefit of the prisoner is so vague, that the worries about the institutionalization of prison doctors become more acute. What seems dreadful to the raw recruit can seem routine and unimportant to the veteran.

I have used extracts from Dr Smith's study to underline the general issue of how providers of certain services within the prison can most effectively contribute as professionals and most satisfactorily strike the balance between the sometimes competing or conflicting needs of individuals within the prison and the overall needs of the prison itself. Whilst the "outsider" must be constantly sensitive to the dynamics of the prison, he or she must be equally sensitive to the professional demands of the outside world. This is certainly a critical issue for the Probation Service, to which I now turn, and to the Educational Service which will constitute the final section of this lecture.

Probation in Prison

I shall approach the question of the role of Probation in prison in two stages: firstly, to reflect upon the circumstances which led to the entry of Probation into prison and the conflict and ambivalence which greeted and still besets this breach of the prison walls; secondly, to touch upon some of the implications of a recent trend in which Probation, the "outsider," moves from a peripheral to a more central position in the prison.

The decision which led, in 1966, to the Probation Services in England and Wales assuming major responsibilities for prison welfare work was the culmination of a process dating back to 1937, when Frank Dawtry, then an employee of the National Association of Discharged Prisoners

Aid Societies (NADPAS) but later the General Secretary of the National Association of Probation Officers (NAPO), was appointed Welfare Officer in Wakefield prison (Doyle 1980). But it wasn't until the post-war years, following the 1953 publication of the Maxwell Committee Report (Home Office 1963), that an increasing and significant number of employees of NADPAS and the Central After-Care Association were appointed Welfare Officers in all Local prisons and some Training prisons. Nor was the decision in the mid-sixties to replace such welfare officers by members of the Probation Service a simple one; in fact, it was contrary to the recommendation of the ACTO Committee on the Organization of After-Care in its 1963 Report (ACTO 1963). The Committee had expressed the view that whilst the responsibility for both compulsory and voluntary after-care which had hitherto rested primarily with voluntary organizations should be taken over by the Probation Service, the welfare work *inside* the prisons should be undertaken by social workers accountable solely to the Prison Department. The Committee had had to consider a number of options additional to the one they proposed—the recommendation of a minority group on ACTO, including Professor Radzinowicz, who implicitly, if not explicitly, argued for a separate Service, independent of but related to Prison and Probation, which would have responsibility for both after-care and the welfare services in prison; the proposal of the Prison Officers' Association (POA) in their memorandum of 1963 (Prison Officers' Association 1963) which argued for a four-tier Social Work Service in prison that was to be staffed from the ranks of the prison officers themselves; and the scheme which was ultimately implemented, whereby the Probation Services in different parts of England and Wales would second probation officers to work in the Prison Welfare Service for limited periods of time.

Not surprisingly, therefore, the involvement of Probation in Prison Welfare was given a very mixed reception. Whilst NAPO, led by Frank Dawtry, consistently welcomed the proposal, the POA was equally consistently hostile. Whilst the Probation Division of the Home Office was responsible for initiating the *volte-face* in favour of Probation being involved, the Prison Department's own attitude was described by a commentator as one of relative indifference. Meanwhile, the Conference of Principal Probation Officers seemed to be ambivalent, apparently raising no objection to the ACTO recommendations but supporting the Probation Division's initiative at a later stage. And this conflict/ambivalence has survived to the present day, although the views of the different interested parties may have changed. The Prison Department now appears to be supportive of retaining the Probation presence in prisons. The POA, whilst officially desiring the withdrawal of Probation, is, I suspect, less hostile than previously and looks forward to a period—albeit limited—of shared working with Probation. NAPO, on the other hand, has swung towards demanding a withdrawal, although the majority in favour of this was small. Meanwhile, even though the Association of Chief Officers in Probation supports the presence of Probation in prisons, the relatively low priority given to after-care in the future plans of the Probation Service, nationally and locally, suggests that, were prison welfare work competing for Probation rather than Prison funds, it would have a similar low priority.

This ambivalence and conflict reflects not only differences in views about the nature of prison welfare and the professional skills which are required and can be practised in the prison setting, but they also reflect the problems of status and power as one organization crosses the boundaries of another. It is, however, the realistic setting within which the role of any "outsider" breaching the walls has to be assessed.

The Probation Services and the prisons have now had almost twenty years' experience of probation officers being involved in the social work in prisons. At the time of the ACTO Report there were some eighty welfare officers working in prisons; today there are some 500 probation officers and their presence in penal establishments range from the single Senior Probation Officer, occupying a consultancy/liaison role in some of the Youth Custody establishments, to teams of as many as fifteen probation officers in the very large prisons. In the main, the pattern, certainly in the adult prisons, is of probation officers seconded on a full-time basis for a period of two or three years and led by a Senior Probation Officer who may be seconded for a slightly longer period. Against this background of growth, I want to examine some of the implications of one trend which, whilst by no means being universal, is sufficiently marked to merit attention—that is, the movement of probation officers in prison from work on the periphery of the prison to work which is central to the prison (Jepson and Elliott 1986). This is physically reflected in the fact that, whereas at one time many of the probation officers were located away from the centre of the prison, in an increasing number of cases they are now stationed on the wings of the prison, in offices, which are often converted cells, alongside cells occupied by prisoners. And side by side with this physical movement has been the increasing involvement of probation officers as members of the wing teams and of Senior Probation Officers in the Senior Management Team of the prison. I shall come back later, in the section on Education, to the choice facing "outsiders" as to whether they remain on the periphery or move to the heart of the prison. At this stage, however, it may be noted that, whilst some see the movement of Probation to the heart of the prison as a sign that Probation is being *absorbed* into the prison ethos, others view it as a process of *integration*—less of a threat and more of a challenge, in that it provides Probation at wing and prison levels with the opportunity to influence the nature of the overall prison regime.

What are some of the implications of this trend? They centre around the need to develop new skills or adapt old ones in a new environment whilst at the same time retaining professional identity and integrity. Whilst recognizing the dangers of generalizing from limited experience in a particular prison, may I reflect briefly upon some of the impressions that remain with me from a two to three month sojourn in a long-term prison. The first impression is that of the pressure to which probation officers located on the wing are exposed, particularly if they adopt an open-door policy to prisoners. An ex-governor of this prison wrote recently:

> I do not believe that the public understand the nature of this work, nor the unremitting pressures which bear down on those who have to spend twenty-four hours per day, seven days a week, 365 days a year, working and indeed living in a prison. There are for example, enormous emotional pressures and tensions involved in running a dispersal prison. (Dunbar 1983)

This is not to imply that prison probation officers work twenty-four hours per day, seven days per week, but rather that they do have to spend their whole working day in this environment, and as another Senior Governor observed, in an extremely exposed position.

The second implication of the movement of probation officers on to the wings, may well be a shift in priorities in their overall work with prisoners. Whilst the original reason for probation officers coming into prison was primarily to deal with prisoners' problems stemming from outside and/or from their prospective return to outside, the continuous presence of the probation officer on the wing heightens awareness of prisoners' problems which stem from the very nature of the prevailing prison experience. As was mentioned previously, the study of *The Social Work Needs of Prisoners* (Directorate of Psychological Services 1983), carried out by the Prison Directorate of Psychological Services, emphasized that, from the prisoners' point of view, "emotional and personal problems" were relatively more widely experienced than "behavioural and situational" and "domestic" problems. Of the emotional and personal problems, those of depression and loneliness were the ones most frequently mentioned.

The third and, in some sense, the most vivid impression is related to the fact that the presence of the probation officer on the wing calls for additional skills of a diplomatic and political kind. The Wing Principal [Prison] Officer or the Wing Senior Officer, or indeed the Prison Officer in charge of cleaning parties on the wing, are clearly influential people whose cooperation is extremely important but whose views about prisons and prison welfare may be essentially different from those of the probation officer. I was reminded in viewing these "political" manoeuvres of the study of Albany Prison (King and Elliott 1978) in which the authors noted that the Governor, who was treatment-orientated, was prepared to accept the consequences of a regime directed towards the needs of individuals. His policy ran into trouble because the Wing Principal Officers were more concerned with the notion of fair and equal treatment and objected to differential treatment between one wing and another with its consequent control problems. When there is this clash between "Treatment" and "Justice" ideology/practice, the probation officer has to develop the role of the honest diplomat.

Finally, yet a further implication of the probation officer becoming a member of the Wing Team is that it underlines the importance of the question about the relative roles of the prison officer and the probation officer in the field of welfare. Perhaps I might spend rather more time on this aspect, because my colleague, Kenneth Elliott, and I have been making a study of shared working between prison and probation officers in adult prisons and in particular of a program of shared working called "Social Work in Prison" or, in short, SWIP. Such a program, important in its own right, has a wider significance in that it is concerned with the ways in which an outside organization, brought in because of its specialist skills, can share its responsibilities with the staff of the host organization.

The SWIP program was launched in 1977 but was preceded by a Home Office Discussion Document circulated in 1974 (Home Office 1974). The Document's major significance was that it challenged the belief that the treatment of crime should be based on the medical analogy of individual diagnosis and specialist treatment and care. Rather, it argued that the treatment task was one of developing an institutional environment in which the prison officer/inmate relationship was recognized as "the basic working relationship" and the role of the "outsider" specialist, including that of the probation officer, was seen as a resource "available to the prison officer in day-to-day contact with the inmate." This model of shared working was hotly debated but the discussion led eventually to the Governors of five, later seven, penal establishments and the relevant Chief Probation Officers being asked to review the work done by their staff in the field of prison welfare. They were to design and implement new schemes of working, which would enable prison staff to participate more fully in work within the establishment in the field of inmate welfare and to foster more effective working relationships between the prison staff and probation services. Over the ensuing seven years, thirty-two out of the sixty-five adult prisons have sought to establish SWIP schemes. Of these, thirteen lapsed for one reason or another but at present nineteen survive. (Instability of prison regime as measured by "High [Prisoner] Through-Put," "Change in Prison Designation," and "Probation Staff Mobility," appeared to be related to high SWIP lapse rate. Integration of Probation Department in prison, as measured by "Departmental Structure" and "Membership of Senior Management," was related to low lapse rate. See Jepson and Elliott 1986.) Most of the schemes fit into one of two categories, although a few fall in between the two extremes. At one extreme is what we may call the *Wakefield Model*, for it was in Wakefield Prison that this type of shared working was introduced. At the other extreme, is a scheme we shall call the *Featherstone Model*, because, again, it was in Featherstone Prison that this type of scheme was introduced. Both schemes survive and appear to be in a flourishing condition.

The Wakefield Model involves the secondment of a limited number of prison officers, usually one to three, to work full-time in the Prison Probation Department for a period which may be anything from three months to two years, or even longer. At the other extreme, the Featherstone Model aims to involve all prison officers on the wing as part of their normal prison officer duties. Although perhaps only two officers on each of the wings may occupy key positions in this scheme at any one time, by a system of rotation most of the officers will have been involved within a period of four years. The amount of time that they spend on welfare duties in any one day, however, will be strictly limited. The Wakefield Model, therefore, has the strength of officers having the time, continuity, and close working relationships with Probation, to develop skills in the social work area. Its limitation is that it is restricted to a very small minority of the prison staff. The strength of Featherstone is that by involving so many prison officers it has a better chance of influencing the ethos of the prison and of the prison regime, but the amount of time spent on welfare duties limits the type of welfare skills which the prison officer can develop. With all their limitations, I think the evidence points to these schemes having been an exceptionally valuable exercise in cooperation between the "outsider" and the "insider," whilst at the same time presenting models of cooperation which have a wider significance than just between Probation and Prison.

Education in Prison

In turning, finally, to examine the role of the Education Services in reducing the isolation of prisons, I want to continue the question of whether the "outsider" remains on the periphery of the prison or moves to its heart, and to relate this to the fundamental question as to the purpose or purposes of the outsider's entrance in the first place. Is the purpose of Education Services' entry simply to provide a program akin to that outside prison—part of the normalization of prison—or is it also to cater specifically to the needs of the prisoner *per se* and/or to reflect the concern about the future behaviour of the criminal? And what of the structural implications of the answers to these questions? But let me first, very briefly, say something of the growth of the British prison education service.

The years between 1948, when local education authorities assumed responsibility for providing an educational service in Prison Department establishments, and the present day, have witnessed a very impressive growth in both the range of educational provision and in the staffing of prison education departments. By the end of the 1970s, the yearly educational training budget for the Prison Department amounted to almost ten million pounds, representing just over two percent of the total expenditure on prisons. Staffwise, there are now some 400 full-time members of staff, about a third of these being education officers, and two-thirds full-time teachers. These are supported by over 3,000 part-time teachers, including lecturers and tutors from the universities, and from voluntary organizations such as the Workers' Educational Association.

Turning now to the purposes of the prison educational services, in the recent Report of the House of Commons Education, Science and Arts Committee on Prison Education (House of Commons 1983), reference is made to the 1969 Policy Statement from the Prison Department, which reads:

> The purpose of education in prisons is really the same as its purpose outside—namely to help a person to have some understanding of himself, of his fellow men, and of the world in which he lives and works; to acquire a skill, trade or profession, and to pursue it successfully; to use time in ways which are useful, acceptable and satisfying and generally to illumine the personality.

Such a statement seems to reflect the ideas implicit in the concept of normalization of prison. The educational program in a prison will therefore parallel the kind of needs which Colleges of Further Education, University Adult Education Departments, the Open University, and the Workers' Educational Association seek to meet, ranging from classes for those who lack literacy and numeracy skills to those who seek qualifications at "O," "A," or Degree levels; from those who attend classes relevant to their actual or possible vocations to those who seek education for its own sake.

The House of Commons Committee, however, juxtaposes this 1969 Policy Statement against the objectives of education outlined in the Home Office publication *Prisons and the Prisoner* (Home Office 1977), which suggests that education must be set in the context of the Treatment and Training Objectives of Prison Rule 1. Consequently, it raises the question as to whether prison education is/should be concerned with the individual's response to imprisonment and to his criminality and if so what priority should be given to these objectives. Let me examine first the question of education for the prisoner as such, and assert that whatever the formal objectives of prison education may be, some prisoners will use the education system to cope with the problems of imprisonment. In their book *The Psychology of Survival,* Taylor and Cohen emphasize that people, faced with the deprivations of imprisonment, will respond in a number of different ways, some fighting the system, others seeking to escape either physically or psychologically from the pressures of prison life (Cohen and Taylor 1972). Some, however, will respond by trying to restore their feelings of self-respect and status. So, Taylor and Cohen argue that just as body-building is a physical way of establishing or regaining self-respect, so educational pursuits can be used as a mental or intellectual way of achieving the same end and/or of combatting the fear of deterioration which affects particularly the long-term prisoner. But what of the formal objectives of education in prison, as provided by the "outsider"? Should they aim to help prisoners examine the processes of imprisonment and how they can best survive the experience? The emergence of and rapid expansion in programs such as Social Skills and Pre-Release courses are good examples of deliberate attempts to help people understand, survive in, and exercise control over their present as well as their future environment. They call for the close cooperation of educationalists, social workers, psychologists, and prison staff. In some cases this cooperation is achieved but in other cases the fight to protect professional boundaries is such that cooperation is superseded by conflict.

Given this, then, there are three general points to make: firstly, this suggests that the notion of normalization is not in itself sufficient; secondly, this challenges the assumption that the organizational divisions between, for example, education and social work outside are not necessarily the most appropriate organizational divisions inside; and, thirdly, it suggests that, if an educationalist from outside goes into prison with objectives that are related to the nature of imprisonment, then he moves from the comparative safety of the periphery deeper into prison. He must therefore acquire a knowledge of and develop a sensitivity to the dynamics of the prison whilst at the same time ensuring close ties with the outside parent organization which protects his or her professional identity.

This problem of balance between affiliation with those outside and those inside the prison, which all "outsiders" should face, is encapsulated in the evidence given by the prison and borstal governors to the House of Commons Committee:

> [An Educational] Service totally integrated into the Home Office would cut us off from educational thought and direction, local education resources and create a dead-end for teachers in their career structure .... Equally, a Service totally integrated in the Further Education System would isolate education from other aspects of the prison regime. An integrated approach to prison regimes is essential ....

The House of Commons Committee rightly questioned whether in reality, as distinct from theory, the educationalists in prison had effective professional links with the outside educational authorities. It also looked at the relationship with prison staff inside, particularly with the prison officers, noting with concern what it considered to be negative and even obstructive attitudes of some prison officers towards education. The Committee thought there were three main reasons for this, namely:

> The first is [prison officers'] conception of the regime as a whole and in particular their view of education in relation to other work. Many view prisons as places for punishment and regard education as a pretext for avoiding work .... The second reason is one which we do not dismiss out of hand: the feeling of prison officers that it is inequitable that prisoners should have access to education while opportunities are denied to them and their children .... There is a third reason, however, ... the attitude of the public and other prison staff towards prison officers and the increasing encroachment as they see it of specialists on their work.

If, in face of this, outside educationalists are to move more to the heart of the prison, then a range of strategies must be considered. One is along the lines suggested by Professor J. E. Thomas in his submission to the Committee:

> If it is not too late ... there is one possible way to redress the balance. This is for the Home Office to consider whether it could give formal responsibilities to the prison education service for non-professional staff education.

This idea of prison education being concerned with staff as well as inmates was one strongly supported by the May Committee. A second approach is to increase the involvement of prison officers as *staff* members of the Prison Education Department. The Report itself said:

> Prison officers must be encouraged to become involved in prison education. In doing so they must be regarded as teachers and the distinction between teachers teaching and prison officers instructing must be eliminated. Not only can they help with the teaching of specialised subjects, in which they happen to be experts, but also they should be strongly encouraged to take part in Social Skills, Literacy and Numeracy teaching.

To these ways of integrating the prison officer in the educational function of the prison may be added the possibilities of redefining and enlarging the roles of, for example, the class officer and librarian. But a third method of moving education from the periphery of the prison to a more central position may be to examine whether, like Probation, more teachers could/should work on the wings as well as or instead of from a separate education department. There are already precedents to this in the form of teachers in the prison hospitals, in Rule 43 Units, and of peripatetic teachers stimulating and supporting prisoners' hobbies in their cells.

But to conclude, I do not want to imply that the outsider must necessarily move from the periphery of the prison to be most effective, but rather that if the outsider is going significantly to breach the walls, it is necessary to be clear about the nature of his or her objectives and of their structural implications.

A recent educational experiment in Canadian penitentiaries beautifully illustrates this point, coming down, as it so happens, on the side of education remaining on the periphery. The experiment should, I think, be viewed within the context of the third possible objective of prison education—should the educational program be related to the role of the individual as a breaker of the criminal law? This is the starting point of the Canadian experiment, in which a university sought to introduce into a penitentiary a program of study, based on the humanities, which aimed *not* at reforming the prisoner but rather at challenging the framework within which he makes decisions. It seeks to provide him or her with the opportunity to look at and react to situations in a variety of frameworks rather than exclusively within the framework to which he has been accustomed. Let me quote from the writings of a Canadian professor who took a leading part in developing this kind of provision (Duguid 1981; 1983). Fragmented though these quotations may be, I hope they indicate the challenge which I think is implicit in the experiment:

> The search for the origins of the decision to become criminal is a noble quest but one likely to give only individualized answers. I am less concerned with the origins of the decision than the fact of the decision itself, the element of consciousness involved in choosing a criminal career.
>
> It is *how* he thinks through, rather than what he may think at any given instant, that becomes the important issue in understanding the likelihood of long-range success or failure.
>
> At whatever academic level ... prison education must have two essential elements ... concern with ethics or morality ... and the encouragement of logical argumentation.
>
> A program offering a neutral service rather than an overtly therapeutic or rehabilitative program.

So much, then, for the objectives which are translated through the medium of the teaching of subjects such as history and literature. But these objectives have, according to the writer, structural implications, one of which is that the outsiders should remain on the periphery of the prison system. He writes, for example, that education staff "must walk the thin line between staff and prisoners," and that "teaching staff must remain outsiders in the constant disputes between prison and prisoners." But, and in some senses most challenging of all, he also argues that, if the objective is for prisoners to re-examine and rethink through the manner in which they arrive at decisions and if it is hoped that that will influence their decision-making process, the education program cannot take place in the context of an organization in which prisoners are deprived of the opportunity to make decisions. If the prison as a whole does not afford that opportunity, then the Education Department must, and must perforce, remain outside the mainstream of the prison.

Thus, as with Probation so with Education the challenge is not only concerned with breaching the walls, with breaking down the barriers of isolation. It is also concerned with the degree to which the outsiders become involved in and seek to influence the dynamics of the whole institution. The deeper they go into the prison the more sensitive they must be to the interactions of those who make up the prison community. The deeper they go, however, the more imperative it becomes to retain and develop the links with those outside who are concerned with their professional integrity.

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Correctional Education and At-Risk Programs

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Educational issues are very much a part of the ebb and flow of America's concern for its citizenry. If ever there was a time in our educational history for correctional educators to unite with their public school counterparts in attacking an educational problem, it is the present. Few discussions concerning our public school systems occur today without some mention of *at-risk education*. The nation's interest in it seems to be at its pinnacle. But why? We've certainly had at-risk students before this surge of interest. Why now? This article explores the educational timeline that evolved into the pendulum swing phenomenon we call at-risk education, while also looking at what Indiana is doing in at-risk programming and the role correctional education can play.

In evaluating the evolution of today's interest in at-risk students, one needs to realize that the concern society shows towards its own education system is mirrored by the courts and their decisions involving education in this country. By studying that parallel we can monitor society's educational pulse and better appreciate the situation in which we now find ourselves.

The scales of justice seem to be a fitting analogy for the application of laws in education. Just as scales tip back and forth before being balanced, so too have the rights between individuals and states in the educational arena. At its inception in this country, education began as an individual concern. Soon economic concerns forced us to acknowledge an expanding need for an educated worker. Beyond that, men like Horace Mann, Thomas Jefferson, and George Washington saw a much more critical need evolving—that of an enlightened citizenry. Washington said:

> Promote, then, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of a

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> government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion be enlightened. (Cubberley 1922, 288)

Horace Mann called a citizen's right to an education "absolute" and that this right was part of a "natural law" (Mann 1849). Men like these gave rise to the notion that the development and continuation of a nation rested upon the education of its masses. From this genesis public education evolved.

Many legal cases associated with education at this time revolved around the interest of the state or federal government. That interest was stated nicely in the case *County of McLean v. Humphrey*. Here the court said:

> It is the unquestioned right and imperative duty of every enlightened government ... to protect and provide for the comfort and well-being of such of its citizens as by reason of infancy ... were unable to take care of themselves. The performance of these duties is justly regarded as one of the most important of governmental functions, and all constitutional limitations must be so understood and construed as not to interfere with its proper and legitimate exercise. (*County of McLean v. Humphrey* 104 Ill. 378 [1882].)

As a result, cases were decided in which the compelling interest of the government outweighed the individual's interest. In education, compulsory school attendance laws were enacted to ensure that the state's interests in a minimal secular education were met. Also, in the court's view, the states could impose restrictions on individuals who were required to go to school as long as the restriction was reasonably related to a valid state purpose. Examples of this view include vaccination and residency requirements. It is evident that the court's opinion in these instances recognized a compelling state interest and, thus, the individual's rights were superseded by the state's.

In summary, early US law concerned itself with operations. Little was said about students except that they were subject to reasonable rules and regulations imposed by statutes and by rules and regulations of boards of education (Nygaard 1973, 24).

As times change so do the opinions of the courts. New justices bring new ideas and interpretations. However, more so than new justices, society itself must accept responsibility for changes in legal doctrines. The influence of a society's values and mores at any specific time in history affect the legal system. The most notable example in education was the *Brown v. Board of Education* case in which the separate but equal doctrine was abrogated. Before this the Equal Protection Clause of the

Fourteenth Amendment in *Plessy v. Ferguson* was interpreted to be "subject to custom and tradition in accordance with legislative interpretation" (Alexander and Alexander 1985, 407). In 1954, however, the court concluded in *Brown* that, in the field of public education, the doctrine of separate but equal has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal (*Brown v. Board of Education*, 346 US 483, 74 S.Ct. 686 [1954]). With this ruling came a watershed of cases involving civil rights. These cases, and the court rulings resulting from them, developed through the years by taking into account not only the black minority, but other minorities as well, including more recently the handicapped.

Into this climate, in 1983, came a report that again would affect the scales. *A Nation At Risk*, a study by the National Commission on Excellence in Education that was highly critical of the nation's schools, focussed our attention away from individual concerns and more toward "us" as a society. The report painted a dismal picture of our educational system. It found our nation's schools declining and our satisfaction with educational mediocrity rising. It focussed our attention on SAT scores, literacy, and dropout rates instead of corporal punishment, free speech, and dress code violations. Thus began a movement for educational reform. And from this movement statistics about dropout rates became a method of comparison. A term was soon coined to identify students in our schools who were in jeopardy of failing or dropping out—the at-risk student.

Suddenly, the interest of the states and the nation in at-risk education began to take a leading role in the discussion of emerging educational issues. The basis of this national concern for dealing with these at-risk students *before* they drop out can be explained by examining the impact those students have upon our society:

- Fifty-two percent of dropouts are unemployed or receiving welfare.
- The annual cumulative cost of dropouts to American taxpayers is $75 billion in welfare benefits and lost tax revenues.
- Sixty percent of prison inmates are high school dropouts. (Note that the annual cost for housing each inmate is $15,000, which is roughly the annual tuition for Harvard, Yale, or Stanford.)
- Eighty-seven percent of pregnant teenagers are high school dropouts.
- Eliminating the costs of dropouts by 1988 would have enabled the US to wipe out the entire national debt by 1990. (Kunisawa 1988, 61)

David T. Kearns, chairman of Xerox Corporation, in an open letter to presidential candidates said, "The public schools are the suppliers of our work force. But they're suppliers with a fifty percent defect rate. A fourth of our kids drop out; another fourth graduate barely able to read their own diplomas" (Kearns 1987).

In Indiana the impact of at-risk students who drop out of school may be even more devastating than for the rest of the US. Brian Bosworth, director of the Indiana Economic Development Council (the planning and evaluative organization for state economic programs), said:

> The percentage of school-age children which are drawn from what we've called the at-risk family or the at-risk age groups is increasing. That increase is as dramatic here in Indiana as it is for the rest of the nation. Interestingly enough, however, the number of new entrants into the work force in Indiana, as a percentage of those already out there, looks to be over the next twenty years well below the national average. So, that suggests that the percentage of at-risk youngsters going through the education system now and ultimately into the work force is actually a higher percentage here in Indiana that for the rest of the nation. (Bosworth 1987)

The Indiana Department of Education in response to these types of statistics, and more so to the movement of educational reform, developed a plan entitled "A+ Program for Educational Excellence." The initiatives included an extended school year, Indiana statewide testing for educational progress, school accreditation, teacher internships, a committee on attitudes towards education, and a special focus on at-risk children. Indiana's at-risk component allocated twenty million dollars in state grants beginning in 1988–89 to assist local school corporations in creating programs for children who are at risk of dropping out of school (Indiana Code 20–10.1–18).

As schools began to develop at-risk programs they initially searched for guidelines to help set the parameters. Indiana's Department of Education recognized the need for guidance and established a workable definition of an at-risk student which states:

> Any student who runs the risk of not acquiring the knowledge, skills and attitudes needed to become a productive adult ... is at-risk. Therefore, the term "student at-risk" refers to any child who has been adversely affected by one, or more, of the factors associated with poor health, social maladjustment, and community change/upheaval. It is the inability to cope with these adversities (whether they be short- or longterm) that negatively affects school performance and attendance. Indicators of risk may include: underdeveloped language skills, drug and alcohol abuse, disruptive and/or delinquent behavior, inattentiveness, excessive school absence, low academic achievement and dropping out of school. (Indiana Department of Education 1987, 7)

The Department of Education also developed a list of proposals eligible for allocation. These proposals included the following: pre-school programs, full-day kindergartens, parental and community involvement programs, transitional programs, tutoring, remediation, broader use of school counsellors, and model alternative education programs (Indiana Code 20–10.1–18–3).

However, as statutes may do, they set the minimum not the maximum. These were merely examples of programs and the language of the law did not exclude others. Many schools have begun to develop at-risk programs utilizing their own resources and personnel. They have taken a reactive approach and dealt with the older student who exhibited at-risk tendencies which were within the realm of the school environment. Other schools realized that at-risk indicators such as poor health, economic status, and family conditions fell outside the control of the school. They have decided not to react to the effects of at-risk tendencies in older students but to think pro-actively and attempt to identify the causes as early as possible. The initial step for these schools in attacking the at-risk problem is identification. What is needed is an identification process that creatively uses all of the community resources. This approach has led to inter-agency models that allow a clearer picture of the problem, an opportunity to match programs with needs, and more informed decision making in program development. By interlocking with other community agencies (e.g., welfare, social services, police) schools may be better able to identify those at-risk indicators outside the realm of the school that potentially cause students to drop out. However, the one component that is frequently missing from this inter-agency model may very well be the most significant to it: correctional education.

Historically, correctional education has existed as a disconnected and often undefined educational effort within the prison systems. It has not been viewed as a significant force in the mainstream of public educational efforts. As a result, the role and importance of correctional educators have been diminished in the total educational process. Correctional educators need to take advantage of the emergence of at-risk programming in the public eye. Failing to capitalize on this opportunity sentences us to maintaining the disconnection and perpetuating the basic premise of prisons themselves: separating those inside from those outside.

Correctional educators have for many years taken the teaching theories and strategies of public schools and adapted them to their own unique situation. In the arena of at-risk programming, we need to realize that *we* are the ones who have something to offer. The problem for many is that we don't realize what we have to offer. If we reflect on what we do in our schools and classrooms, we can certainly see some things that work and work very well. Public school educators know that we address similar problems with students who represent a spectrum of learning, personal, and social needs. Also, our environments are very often *not* conducive to our educational purpose. Yet many programs succeed and do well according to traditional measures of learning improvement. Why? What theories do we follow? How have we adapted those theories? These kinds of questions prompted, in 1980, a CEA proposal to the US Education Department which said, in part:

> [P]rograms which can succeed in this most difficult setting can be replicable in less restrictive environments. Toward this end, correctional education should be viewed as a laboratory for testing relevant models which can be disseminated to other contexts. This approach can be meaningfully applied to inner city public schools servicing large student populations which parallel those of corrections. (Gehring 1980, 5)

Many teachers' unions have fought long, hard battles to get wording into contracts which allow certain public school districts—in the name of educational reform—to become experimental. Correctional education could be one of the best resources they have. We are in the unique position of being able to look back on individual case studies of what others would call at-risk students with 20-20 hindsight. Correctional educators could have significant input into answering the pedagogical versus androgogical questions surrounding at-risk education.

Initially that means expanding the awareness of what we do in corrections. One way to do this might be to contact local school administrators who are trying new programs relating to at-risk education and invite their teachers and correctional educators to discuss the commonalities that both face in working with at-risk students. A panel composed of a select group of teachers with a moderator could respond to questions and comments from the entire group. This could be enlightening for both sides.

Another option might be to allow staff to speak and provide in-service programs addressing at-risk issues to interested public schools and agencies. For example, there is a movement in today's education toward a more competency-based curriculum. More and more, the word *accountability* has entered into the discussion of public school education. To establish accountability, regular testing programs along with minimum competency tests for graduates have been developed to ensure certain academic levels. If correctional educators do nothing else, they should remind people that there are offenders that do not show the slightest academic defect; their crimes were "perfectly rational, well planned, and profitable" (Ross and Fabiano 1985, 8). Social literacy then, becomes just as important as academic literacy; the affective domain just as important as the cognitive one. The awareness of this social/academic aspect and the development of active and passive teaching responses to it, are significant parts of any good correctional program and should not be lost in the academic race in public schools to produce good test scores. The sharing of this kind of information can be of enormous benefit during the initial stages of an at-risk program. Also, as well as opening up lines of communication, the job satisfaction correctional educators feel by sharing with others the techniques and methods they have worked so hard to perfect in their classes is an excellent by-product. Whatever the case may be, we need to have a dialogue with our public school counterparts.

Finally, the recidivism rates of our prisons suggest to us a recurring theme: it may be easier to build children than to repair adults. Correctional educators are at the opposite end of the educational continuum. However, by bringing that 20–20 hindsight into focus for the public schools, we can begin to sift through what works and what doesn't. And, maybe, we can begin to develop and provide a pro-active attitude and an environment that encourages students to stay in school. We envision and hope for a future in which at-risk projects not only keep people out of our prisons initially, but also facilitate current correctional students' re-entry into the public academic setting, thus providing an opportunity for all to further the *real* goal of education—lifelong learning.

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Culture in the Bureaucracy

THE UNIVERSITY IN PRISON

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In a number of articles and interventions written over the past decade, the Québec educator Lucien Morin has directly confronted the main contradiction of educating in prison: the pursuit of autonomy and freedom through education in the least free and most dependent of contexts, the modern prison. This confrontation has yielded philosophical clarity on issues which have often been sidestepped by practitioners who, while having put education before punishment in their personal philosophies, have nevertheless failed to address the extent to which they remain within the "carceral archipelago." Morin, drawing on the work of the revisionist historians and philosophers of the last two decades, has demonstrated how education in prison remains tied to the theoretical and practical apparatus of punishment in spite of its liberal claims.

For Morin, the term "correctional education" is itself indicative. Within this phrase lies buried the failure to distinguish between education and education in a correctional perspective. Correctional education draws the educator into the apparatus of normalizing, social scientific discipline with its categorization and labelling of the criminal-to-be-reformed. But as Morin wittily points out, one does not define art by defining sculpture or shoe-making; similarly, education cannot be defined by education in correctional settings. Stressing that we must agree on the nature and mission of education before we define correctional education, Morin proposes an "educative model" based on a reconciliatory philosophy of education cleanly divorced from the apparatus of criminology and justice systems. This model avoids, in principle, the *instrumental* appropriation of education by prison services. He describes this ideal in his paper "After Foucault: The Educative Model" as a model of a "reconciliatory pedagogy" which is "gratuitous, spontaneous, non-motivated education" (Morin 1981a, 149). In the tradition of reform-minded social catholicism, this educative model is based on "giving and sharing" in the course of educating men and women to "judge and judge well." By stressing the common humanity of the prisoner and the universal core of education, Morin hopes to free education in prison from the corrupting influence of its context. In its independence from the logic of rehabilitation and correction, it is comparable to the ideal notion of a liberal arts education. This important critique, which should be collected in an accessible work, cannot be summarized here. I have isolated a single aspect in order to raise the issue of the conditions of good educational practice in prison. Morin's discussion forms a useful starting point because it is acutely aware of the contradiction of liberal education in the panoptic prison and because it formulates this at the level of principles.

That administrators of correctional services remain befuddled and diffident in the wake of Morin's critique is no criticism of Morin. For some time Morin has been one of the very few educators associated with corrections in Canada to address persistently these issues from the perspective of recent radical social thought and philosophy—always from within his unique perspective. But his call for a "radical reversal ... a sort of one-dimensional leap involving the destructuration of our most profound existential habits" (Morin 1984) strikes the sympathetic reader as idealistic, as does the call for a reconciliation of education and the prison. Even when addressing the problem of implementation, Morin strikes an idealistic note by calling for the forceful declaration of "human growth as the major aim of penitentiary education" and "by helping teachers see themselves as philanthropists" (Morin 1981b, 179). But surely the problem of implementation is a more concrete problem than suggested by a leap of faith or commitment to a sharing pedagogy. However, much is to be gained by taking the resistance of the prison to such a philosophy more seriously. After all, the problem does not lie in the philosophical inadequacies of bureaucrats and politicians but in the very structure of the bureaucracy in this society and its legitimating discourse. The historical critique of the birth of the prison, which is crucial to understanding Morin's ideas, leaves little hope for utopian reform. (Morin is guided by Foucault 1977.) Indeed, humanist reform of the prison has been deeply implicated in the structure of coercion as it developed. Jeremy Bentham's panoptic scheme and John Howard's moral argument for solitary confinement are but two notorious examples. Morin's critique understands this, but can there be any hope of implementing it without implicating it?

This is difficult to answer because Morin fails to raise the question of why a bureaucracy would even entertain his proposal for an educative model; particularly when it is so inconsistent with the model of education he identifies as consistent with the criminal justice system itself—indeed, justice itself. His appeal to a change of heart and understanding is finally an idealist one. It also masks the problem of under what conditions an educative model that refuses the carceral network might realize itself in the prison. This paper is an attempt to explore this problem, for if the radical critique of correctional education is to have practical consequences, the exploration of the practical and theoretical terrain must be undertaken simultaneously.

Fortunately, this exploration is not without a base in corrections itself—at least this is true in Canada. Over the past seventeen years the University of Victoria, and now Simon Fraser University, has operated a liberal arts university program in four Canadian prisons at all levels of security. This program has succeeded in creating a relative oasis of institutional space within the confines of these prisons. At times it has achieved substantial autonomy from the routine of the prison, in part because of a purposively "naive" approach which make-believes the ideal university is both practical and has a right to exist. The liberal arts bias and the general pedagogy of the program is reasonably consistent with Morin's point of view. Circumstances and the prudential activities of students and staff have allowed it to survive well beyond the expected life-span of the progressive-but-doomed-project so typical of the early seventies. Indeed, Morin holds up this program as a researched project which demonstrates that education in prison does not have to be correctional. Speaking of the prime movers behind the project he writes:

> And if it is true that the measure of their success is not to be found in employability, deterrence from criminal activity or in a contribution to the security of the prison, the reason is that they have met the demanding objective of fundamental education; that is, educating persons with the ability to judge and judge well. (Morin 1984, 8)

In fact the university program, like the liberal arts in all universities, has appealed to the logic of achieving social goals through indirect means. It would not be tolerated unless the argument that social goals, however defined, were being met; and it would not be tolerated if it attempted to address them by directly challenging the administrative order of the prison. As Morin would undoubtedly agree, however, this is not all of the thrust of liberal education philosophy or his educative model; the form and content of such an education may be quite subversive in relation to its context—many count on it. In any case, it is not an exaggeration to represent the program as embodying a notion of education based on the liberal arts and the ideal of the university. Most academic visitors to the program are attracted by the collegial atmosphere and visibly pine for that lost ideal it seems to represent. In fact, to the extent this has been achieved, it is a product of a very cautious institutional practice and certain gaps provided by the particular discourse and structure of this particular bureaucratic subsystem. In other words, the institutional space that has been carved out of the neat hierarchy of the prison is the dominant means by which the pursuit of our educational ideal is possible—not the reverse. To demonstrate this it would be necessary to reconstruct the history of this project. (See Duguid 1979; 1980.) That cannot be attempted here. Instead, this paper will discuss some of the more abstract conditions of possibility of such a program's existence; in particular, by analyzing an aspect of the ideological discourse of the Correctional Service of Canada (CSC) with respect to operating educational programs in prison. Practical considerations will emerge from this critique which, hopefully, will give added substance to Morin's educative model. Necessarily, the following question must also be raised: do these conditions of possibility only create an "artificial negativity" that undercuts any substantial claim to actually subvert the detrimental effects of the carceral—*avec* Foucault, not *après* Foucault?

Morin's analysis centres on the statement of purpose produced by the CSC regarding prison education. He summarizes it as follows:

> Thus the purpose of correctional education is to deter from future criminal activity, to improve employability and literacy and to contribute to the security of the prison .... [The CSC] supposes that to educate in prison is identical with the end of corrections. (Morin 1984, 3)

As Morin points out, this notion of education is rooted in "normalizing" disciplines like psychology, sociology, and criminology. All education in prison becomes correctional for it is subordinated to the extra-educational ends and methodologies of these disciplines and their particular approaches to rehabilitation and correction. Not surprisingly, then, these guidelines are well-suited to the administration of prisons. They help fulfill the more general goals of corrections—to incarcerate, rehabilitate, and keep secure—and appear to do so in a perfectly functional way. Viewed this way, it would appear that it is categorically impossible for these functions to adopt the educative model presented by Morin. As Morin's analysis shows, correctional education as defined by these principles is deeply imbricated in the processes of categorization and accusation that continue well after the sentence of the prisoner has been assigned. The trial continues throughout the length of the sentence and often beyond—and not always in conditions of fairness and impartiality.

Education, in Morin's sense, cannot take place; rather it is the "inversion of education," for no other reason (and there are many) than the criminal has been reified in his "personality" or pathology by the objectifying approach brought to corrections by a certain kind of social science. Morin has exposed the assumptions about education underlying the correctional model of education by appealing to a new, anthropological understanding of justice as a discourse on violence. In understanding the deep connections between justice and violence, categorization and accusation, Morin asks the prison system to make a leap of faith in favour of an opposed pedagogy. But surely the concrete source of these assumptions, whatever is the relationship of justice and violence, is the bureaucratic necessity to integrate education within the rationally pursued goals of the criminal justice system in one subsystem—the prison. From this point of view the statement of purpose and its implementation is a very functional one because it assists in preserving the carceral archipelago itself; not because certain careers and personal interests bend the goals of education to their will, as many prisoners are wont to describe it, but because the imperatives of bureaucratic management demand it. Form and function, ends and means, are integrated in a manner capable of being legitimated by socially acceptable norms emanating from the political domain. Education is reconciled by fiat to the function of the administration of prison; it simply becomes correctional. Why is this so? Practically and theoretically this can be usefully illuminated by briefly turning to contemporary theories of bureaucracy in the Weberian tradition.

Modern state bureaucracies are based on the administration of official business under the rule of law. Since Weber, it is well known that bureaucratic decision making tends to be inflexible, subject as it is to the principle of formal or instrumental rationality. Weber saw the latter as a form of rationality divorced from all norms and values, resting on strategies of quantification and calculability that allow for universal applicability regardless of the context of action. (A good, short discussion of Weber's theory of bureaucracy can be found in Polan 1984.) In administrative systems and subsystems like the prison, the concrete activity and qualities of the subject individual are subsumed by the principles of operation. The wider cultural and social implications of Weber's theory have been drawn out by certain traditions within

"Western Marxism," notably the School of Critical Theory associated with Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno.

Critical Theory developed out of the appropriation of Weber's theory of rationalization (the implementation of instrumental reason in various social domains) by Georg Lukács. He took it one step further by associating it with Marx's commodity fetishism in the theory of reification (Lukács 1971). Here relationships between people are treated as relationships between things in the process of capitalist development. This radical version implied the complete victory of formal rationality and "the end of reason," as Max Horkheimer would later put it. As bureaucracy inexorably spread its wings, the individuals standing in their shade became ever more alienated in the artificial and standardized dawn of man. This strain of thought would ultimately culminate in a radical version of convergence theory, in which all modern and modernizing states are succumbing to an wholly administered existence. In anticipation of many of the themes of Foucault's work, the School of Critical Theory, adapting the work of Weber and Lukács, proposed a vision of modernity in which the prison could be presented as the mirror of contemporary societies. In this image, those who fail to accept freely the internal moral constraints of bourgeois society are forcibly constrained in a panoptic architecture which models this relationship of man to his conscience.

> Man in prison is the virtual image of the bourgeois type he still has to become in reality. Those who cannot manage outside are forcibly held in a terrible state of purity in prison. (Horkheimer and Adorno 1973, 226)

This ironic view of the internal connections between society and imprisonment seems to lead, through a process of inversion, to the inevitable conclusion that the prison is a metaphor for our increasingly administered existence on the outside. The intellectually popular thesis of "the end of man" and the populist rage of Rambo are two common responses to this dialectic.

Criticisms that have been levelled at the thesis of absolute bureaucratization, most notably from within the tradition of Critical Theory (Habermas 1984; Polan 1984, 98–112), have sought to explore contradictions in the process of rationalization in order to thematize possible openings in this inexorable process. An interesting example develops out of Western Marxism's linking of instrumental rationality to the processes of commodification in a capitalist society (Offe 1984). According to Claus Offe, although the following is quite a simplification of his thesis, the state is often forced into contradictions by its precise function in capitalist society. Where goods and services are distributed through the mechanism of a market (the process which realizes them as commodities), the state has historically taken an ever larger role in correcting the subsequent imbalances and revealed contradictions. In responding to these crises, the state is caught between offering services which "try to maintain and to restore exchange opportunities" where the market has "failed," and structuring these services so that they function as "supportive mechanisms of the commodity form" (Offe 1984, 143). In the former it meets certain needs which fall outside the imperatives of commodity production, whereas in the latter case it attempts to "improve" the ability of capital or labour to participate in the commodity sphere.

> A dual and inconsistent standard of "goodness" of policy-making results from this structure. Policies will be measured both by the exchangeability they produce for labour and capital *and* by their promise to satisfy needs of people through alternative, non-market means of social production. The very concepts of health (the ability to work versus physical well-being), education (the marketability of labour power versus personality development) and all the other social services are characterized by this dual reference to the commodity form *and* to need. (Offe 1984, 144)

A major problem for the state in this situation is to legitimate its policies in such a way that it meets the interests of both types of concern (Offe 1984, 268). The statement of purpose of education in prison clearly subordinates education to the needs of the institution (security) and the not uncommon state policy of increasing the saleability of labour power through education *and* training. But as Offe points out, the administrative form of settling an education policy and the norms which guide it, is far more problematical than the commodity form of social organization (Offe 1984, 140–41). In the latter case the market settles the issue automatically, as it were, whereas in the former case policy must be subjected to "discursive will-formation"—conflict over norms and values in political and community debate (Polan 1984, 65). And because there is no accepted formula (or communicative as opposed to instrumental rationality) by which it could be decided what is to be learned at school or which region gets the new prison, it is not unusual for the very commodity form itself to be at issue. One need only think of current debates over university funding, welfare funds, transition houses, and so on, to see key questions raised. Should standards of efficiency implied by the marketplace be served or alternative needs and social purposes? Should social policy be subordinated to the logic of the marketplace? Whose interests are thus served? The local debate over university in prison, whether or not student-prisoners should pay fees, or whether literacy and vocational training are more fundamental needs, is only another example of this. For practical purposes, the instrumental rationality characteristic of both the commodity form and the bureaucratic function is the real terrain of the struggle over education in prison; it is towards the questions of needs and their interpretation that controversy and reform will gravitate. Unfortunately, the issue of education in prison is pulled in other directions by the constant debate over punishment, clouding public perception of the issues. Nevertheless, statements of purpose, however functional and rational in this narrow sense, are subject to policy changes, the difficulty of meeting the ambiguous requirements of rehabilitation, and the need to legitimate the day-to-day operation of the prison. In policy statements and operational codes the attempt by correctional systems to mediate these pressures can be clearly seen.

Of course statements of policy tend to function as overarching guidelines. Their implementation is another matter. It is at the operational level that the theory and practice of integrating policy and performance is carried out. Certain operative ideals, or models, mediate the relations amongst the prison, prisoner, and community by giving direction to policy. (See the discussion of models in Canadian and American corrections in Griffiths and Ekstedt 1984, 66–75.) These models embody recognizable philosophies of corrections that legitimate as well as orient the practice of corrections. These legitimations are as much "in-service" as they are meant for the general population; also, they undoubtedly represent the balance of forces within the state itself—but this cannot be addressed here.

Of the plethora of models found in the theory and practice of incarceration, none has ever achieved complete hegemony. *Within the prison* the dominant model, or operative ideal, is called the opportunities model. (See *Role of Federal Corrections in Canada* for the initial elaboration of this model.) It was preceded by the medical model (or therapeutic or treatment model), which viewed the prisoner as sick but capable of being cured—usually by "experts." The medical model's most enduring legacy is the euphemism "correctional" itself and the lesson, albeit a negative one, that a cure cannot be coerced. Its decline does not imply its disappearance, however, any more than the early modern preference for punishing the body has disappeared. Nevertheless, the impact of the medical model's decline can be measured by the decline of the rehabilitative ideal which accompanied it. The rehabilitative ideal, although it still remains as one of the basic directives of corrections in Canada, had been mortally wounded by linking programs to punitive measures; that is, to prison itself. Parole and various privileges were often contingent on participation in these programs, irredeemably compromising them. Robert Martinson, surveying the state of the rehabilitative art in 1973 concluded by coining the new incantation: "Nothing works" (Martinson 1974). This was always already known, but a scientific judgement certified it once and for all, neglecting altogether the question of the kind of science involved in these problems. For if the scientific gaze was a labelling and accusatory one, then it helped create and perpetuate the carceral; it couldn't possibly be rehabilitative—as Morin, following Foucault and Girard, has shown.

In 1974 a book influential with professionals in the field and prisoner reform groups was published: Norval Morris's *The Future of Imprisonment* (1974). It attempted to separate rehabilitation from the medical model. His essential point was simply that if change cannot be coerced it must nevertheless be facilitated through the provision of opportunities to the volunteer participant. Basic principles of fair play and justice demanded that the possibility of rehabilitation must not be withdrawn from the prisoner even if "prison behaviour is not a predictor of community behaviour." All the prison can do is offer programs and confine the individual. Leaving aside the observation that nothing in prison can ever be entirely voluntary, this proposed solution to the dilemmas of treatment in a coercive setting had its strengths. Coercion is less overt from the point of view of the prisoner and the pro-active claims of the prison service are reduced to manageable proportions. Liberal forces were mollified too—they were losing the rehabilitative mission but they were gaining the rhetoric of rights and liberality itself, for these opportunities were offered in a "humane and fair" spirit.

In Canada "A Report of the Task Force on the Creation of an Integrated Canadian Corrections Service" took up the theme of the opportunities model in *The Role of Federal Corrections in Canada* (1977). It was proposed in this report, and largely accepted in practice, that the CSC would provide opportunities via education, counselling, vocational training, psychological services, and so on; the prisoner would choose to avail himself of them. Nothing could be more liberal, rational, or realistic. Although reality never fully approximated the model it became the rationalizing principle behind policy. The principles behind it seemed so benign that hardly anyone noticed the fact that it too secretly refused to put itself in context, just like the medical model before it. Whereas the latter had ignored the basic structure of imprisonment and its share in it, the former would ignore its deep ideological and social roots in society. It would also uncouple itself from the demand to provide successful rehabilitation, making the legitimation of its activities far easier. Listing a few of the components is almost sufficient to expose its basic assumptions:

- The opportunities principle is based on the assumption that the offender is ultimately responsible for his behaviour ... [and is not based on] ... some underlying personality disorder or deprived socioeconomic condition. (*Role*, 31)
- Federal Corrections should ... strive for a relationship with offenders based on a system of incentives and rewards proportionate to the expressed desire, demonstrated effort and achievement of the inmate. (*Role*, 51)
- The opportunities must be diversified and relevant in today's society. (*Role*, 76)
- The Program Opportunities Model makes the offender responsible for changing his conduct; provides Federal Corrections with a realistic goal rather than an unattainable goal of changing offender behaviour; and, does not lead the public to believe that Federal Corrections can resolve the problem of crime. (*Role*, 77)
- The great majority of offenders are held to know and appreciate the nature and quality of their actions; that is, they possess a full appreciation of the consequences of their actions, the ability to choose alternative courses of action, and the capacity to formulate an intent when considering whether or not to commit a criminal offence. (*Role*, 32)
- [A]n offender should retain all the rights of an ordinary citizen, except those that are expressly taken away from him by statute, or that he loses as a necessary consequence of incarceration. (*Role*, 49)

These components are not comprehensive, but they suggest a classic social model guiding the design of the whole edifice: a picture of man and society as envisaged by the social contract tradition, a tradition deeply embedded in the rise of the middle class in a market society. Men are viewed as egoistic, autonomous, and rational individuals who come freely together to create civil society (the sphere of self-regulation). In this setting, the individual is responsible for his actions and is equal before the law, regardless of his or her socioeconomic status or character. The function of punishment, of course, is to preserve these arrangements. Strictly speaking, any punishment which violates the consensus of values established in civil society by pursuing ends which contradict these values (for example, an imposed "cure") is illegitimate. This partakes of the language of rights. Although the extension of even residual rights to prisoners is controversial, threatening as it does the discretion of the administration over the prisoner. Still, residual rights were granted in principle, even if they sometimes lacked precision, as evidenced by the establishment of inmate committees and grievance procedures introduced on the heels of the report.

A utilitarian element also asserts itself strongly within the report. Punishment will be proportional to the nature of the crime and the interests violated. Moreover, "useful" activity must be rewarded and "destructive" activity punished. This is nothing less than an extrapolation from a certain view of the marketplace, where competing, self-interested, rational men and women pursue the goals of self-possession and the possession of things, and where ethical standards are henceforth rooted in the legitimate pursuit of property and personal well-being. (See Hobsbawm 1962 for an historical discussion on the relation of utilitarian and "natural rights" traditions in bourgeois social thought.) The field of opportunities becomes the market and the distribution of justice the reward. It also sneaks the psychology behind all the behavioural modification programs of the medical model back into practice. The idea "that virtuous conduct can be made habitual through the routinization of behaviour," as historian Michael Ignatieff puts it, also has its roots in a classic conception—the environmentalism of John Locke that inspired prison reformers like Bentham and Howard. By linking this standby to the marketplace of opportunities it is clearly hoped that rehabilitation will take place—but "spontaneously" and without having to claim that the prison can "resolve the problem of crime."

By introducing these elements in a controlled environment allows the CSC to have it both ways. The prisoner is classed as a rational individual but inducements exist to ensure that the functionalist goals of the administration are not compromised; that is, the instrumental rationality of the principle of utility is not entirely compromised by flirting with notions of right. A popular ideological version of social reality (the free market) is introduced which paradoxically legitimates the intervention of the state (via the prison) as a kind of framework of activity in the rational distribution of goods (justice). The prisoner is granted his reason, but of course he is wrong. Having failed in one market, he is confined to a new one, but his behaviour here may allow him to re-enter the original at a later date. The entire apparatus of movement to different security levels, parole, transfer, recommendation, case management, psychiatric assessment, and obligatory work remain—but no rehabilitative claims are made for it! The prisoner simply tries to straighten out his act in a controlled environment which is reputedly a map of the larger context; a map which he presumably can read. Reality, viewed ideologically, becomes the operative ideal of the modern prison. The truth in Horkheimer and Adorno's "A Theory of Crime," which represents the prison as a ghastly, embodied form of "bourgeois purity," quoted above, leaps to the eye. In the opportunities model, the prison itself becomes a field of opportunities in which useful and destructive behaviour also gets its just deserts.

Social contract and utilitarian models, and their hybrids, posit a moral consensus and the natural permanence of existing mechanisms for the distribution of power and property. This led to the classic problem for classical theory: a system of justice based on principles of equality is only consistent with a society in which property and power are distributed evenly. In this perspective, the problems for the very liberal opportunities model immediately surface. In spite of the principle of equality (of opportunity and before the law), men and women might still be imprisoned by virtue of social injustice. Moreover, the justification of imprisonment and the management of the sentence necessarily participate in that possibility, as Morin shows in a different way. The very language of the Task Force Report portrays the correctional institution as a neutral object in the social field. Not only does it ignore the context of the administration of justice as it has emerged historically and ideologically, but it duplicates this ignorance by refusing to consider itself seriously as a context for the "irrational" behaviour of the imprisoned. The result is magnified further when we consider, as Morris pointed out, that recidivism is a function of imprisonment.

> The age of the prisoner, the availability to him on release of reasonably remunerative employment and of a supportive domestic environment, are closely related to his avoidance of crime, but these are not circumstances over which the prisoner by his own efforts in prison has very much control. (Morris 1974, 47)

In short, prison separates men and women from the very social ties which bind them to the lifeworld of society; prison is a condition of its own existence. The liberal justification of penal policy simply masks the perpetuation of the same prison. The opportunities model, by participating in the ideological world of the commodity form of organization, guarantees that its policies are not in conflict with its context.

Although this analysis of the assumptions of the opportunities model only confirms the suspicion that all levels of the prison bureaucracy are functionally dependent on the larger social and ideological context, it points to an interesting contradiction. Bureaucratic practice in prison does not rely on a strict theory of instrumental rationality to justify its operative ideals. It cannot merely appeal to efficiency or other attributes of the successful bureaucracy, nor can it simply appeal to the instrumentally-oriented statement of purpose of education in prison. Its rationalizations do not "consciously" contradict the instrumental rationality of the bureaucracy, but they do appeal to traditions and values which are not easily subsumed by it. The assumption that criminals are responsible for their behaviour and that they retain some rights even while incarcerated appeals to a liberal utopia that never melded comfortably with the more radical strains of utilitarianism implicit in the modern penitentiary model. The opportunities model, which emerged in the wake of the collapse of the medical model, took up a less radical position, ideologically speaking, but transferred much of the apparent responsibility onto the individual prisoner. The norms and values represented by that discourse now possess more than a shadowy existence, for through this operative ideal they enter the actual operation of the prison. The opportunities principle, for all its bad faith in failing to thematize its relationship to its overall context, nevertheless justifies its existence on the grounds that the CSC "has adopted a more pragmatic approach that is both fair and humane to the offender and recognizes the respective responsibilities of Federal Corrections, the community and the offender." These are the criteria it must, in part, legitimate by offering programs that speak to this concern, whatever practical obstacles it might put in place.

More importantly, the opportunities model leaves an institutional space at the heart of its discourse. It may make a definite analogy to the world of the marketplace and thus the commodity form of organization, but it must remain an administratively controlled environment subject to normative interpretations of what constitutes "useful" activity. Although this is precisely the element of control, it is also, paradoxically, the element through which the prison opens up onto the community. For instance, the opportunities model was formulated in the context of creating "an integrated CSC" which would include the old Penitentiary Service and the National Parole Service. A curious sidelight of this was that much of the coercion residing in the medical model was concentrated in the Parole Board, for the criteria of release, as Griffiths and Ekstedt show, remained similar to those employed under the medical model (Griffiths and Ekstedt 1984, 238). Clearly a prisoner was better off "volunteering" for a program that could be viewed as rehabilitative rather than exercising the choice granted him or her by the opportunities model and "doing his time." But this also re-introduced the notion of rehabilitation through the backdoor, in slightly new garb. The claim of the prison to diagnose and treat the criminal was undercut by the principles of the opportunities model, and thus the definition of what constituted rehabilitation or what programs might offer it was left open to the choices of inmates and historical accident (as to what programs existed, etc.). Ironically, something like the notion of equivalent exchange was introduced into the carceral. The illusion of choice, the right to choice, and relative non-coercion began to assert itself.

In these circumstances the opportunities for exercising responsible choice remain structured by administrative policies subject to scrutiny and the interpretation of needs. This utilitarian element is contradicted by the argument from rights and responsibility with the opportunities vision of the free market, albeit in an ambiguous fashion. It grants the prisoner a certain responsibility, however artificial, and because it does not radically circumscribe the interpretation of needs, the ideological content of the opportunities model contradicts a purely instrumental implementation of policy. In the concrete setting of some British Columbia prisons, the historical presence of a university program based on a liberal arts model, is a sign of the contradiction between a pure instrumental rationality on the one hand, and a passive, almost laissez-faire support for possible alternative versions of educational practice. This is a condition of possibility of the educative model à la Morin, but it works two ways. The opportunities model uncouples programs from the demand to rehabilitate, while the utilitarian element implicit in parole structures demands the appearance of rehabilitation. An empirical if negative proof of this is the public resistance mounted to overturn the decision to cancel all post-secondary education in Canadian prisons. Given the reputed rehabilitative success of the program, this seemed to violate both principles. Once the Solicitor General and his ministry were forced to defend publicly the cancellation in terms of already accepted principles of operation, the political desire to cut costs and the desire of the bureaucracy to impose universally an isomorphic educational structure in line with the statement of purpose for Canadian prisons was frustrated—for the moment. "The dual and inconsistent standard of 'goodness' of policy making" has found one path into the prison through the practical application of the opportunities principle and its attendant ideology.

Of course the possibility of establishing programs that embody significant alternative approaches depends on finding an appropriate institutional form. This is the great discovery and virtue of the SFU Humanities Program, because a form must be found which can accommodate the principles of education one wishes to promote. The Task

Force report which recommended the opportunities model also recommended that efforts be made to draw the community into the prison. This was consistent with the avowed aim of offering comparable programs to those found outside the prison (*Role of Federal Corrections in Canada* 1977). The university is an ideal institution in this instance. It embodies the ethic of liberal arts more than any other, it possesses as much institutional "weight" as the prison, and it offers tremendous legitimating potential. Most post-secondary programs, however, have tended to consist of instructors from campus travelling to the prison, offering their course under the watchful eye of correctional staff, and departing. The SFU Humanities Program, however, developed an organizational base out of an attempt to emulate a campus in the prison. An equal advantage, which has not been discussed here, is that this program had already implanted itself in the prison in the dog days of the medical model—in fact, it was notable in participating in the attack on the medical model. As Corrections drifted into the opportunities model, which the Task Force simply ratified and raised to the level of a principle, the university program was already an opportunity in waiting. This alternative community (the campus), which is structured as democratically as possible, is the indispensable precondition for the realization of any educative model. No discussion concerning the establishment of alternative educational programs in prisons can avoid addressing the following components of organization.

- Programs must match a notion of education as described by Morin with relative institutional autonomy. University programs are ideal in this regard because they carry the standards of accreditation, staffing, and independent ethics of the university with them into the field of the prison. The standards of "correctional" education thus remain external to the actual education offered—in spite of the rhetoric of agreement. Therefore ...

- The myth of the liberal arts university must be subscribed to and upheld without qualification as it underwrites the process of education sought by Morin and the appropriate organizational form. Thus ...

- Formal links with parole, case management, and the apparatus of incentives must be avoided. The community of teachers and students must attempt to function as a whole in relationship to the institution wherever possible. Thus ...

- Within limits to be determined in each case, a democratic, alternative community must be established within the program. (See Duguid 1981, 421–38; Nelson and Hoekema 1981, 305–20.)

To conclude, cultural autonomy within the prison can only be achieved if a degree of institutional autonomy is created and the opening for such a venture can be found within the operating principles of the prison.

It would be naive, however, to assume that the opportunities model is the benign and passive operative ideal it often appears to be. It could be suggested that it merely creates a more flexible means of incorporating the felt needs of student-prisoners into the functioning of the prison by "softening" the coercive experience of the prison itself. This "repressive tolerance,"[1] as Herbert Marcuse would describe it, would accomplish the smooth operation of the prison by quelling some of these felt needs, while assimilating any potential for dissent arising in the alternative community by a thoroughgoing liberalism based on the opportunities model. Indeed, the university would become a part of the carceral itself; not by subscribing to "correctional" education, but by legitimating prison education in the eyes of "clients" who by definition are "unwilling participants, held in the system against their will" (*Role of Federal Corrections in Canada*, 108). Within the prison, it could well be the case that the equivalent exchange ideology ironically implicit in the opportunities model will have real effect, producing its own reification of the virtues of the university and individual choice. The next stage of development lies in confronting this problem; and it will likely involve the transition to a new concept of correctional education rather than a further justification of educative models. The opportunities model puts the onus on the individual prisoner. The educative model and its liberal arts equivalents puts the onus on individual development. In doing so it avoids, as Morin has shown, the reification of the criminal implicit in the correctional perspective. But is the result a commitment to a new kind of "bourgeois purity" which ultimately ratifies the ideological and social context of this particular bureaucratic subsystem, the prison? If the culture in the bureaucracy is to survive, the turn must be made towards the collective appropriation of the notion of rehabilitation. In this way the community of prisoners might break the game of mirrors played out in the funhouse.

Note

[1] This notion, and Piccone's "artificial negativity" (Piccone 1978), remind us of the considerable limits on reforming practice within the bureaucratic systems of modern society. The historical analysis found in Foucault is even less hopeful.

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PART III

A Wider View

THE INTERNATIONAL DIMENSION OF CORRECTIONAL EDUCATION

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As the education of prisoners becomes more widespread, sophisticated, and integral to the very conception of "corrections," local and even national fields of vision will inevitably give way to a global view. The two papers in this section explore this international dimension via the United Nations and the Council of Europe.

Following on from the earlier discussion by Wayne Knights of the possibility of correctional education, Lucien Morin and William Cosman in "Prison Education: The Need for a Declaration of Basic Principles for the Treatment of Prisoners," carry the issue farther into the realm of international law. The authors make a generalized critique of current conceptions and practices of correctional education, arguing that the historical link with treatment, training, and prison management is fundamentally contradictory to generally accepted notions of education. Basing their argument on the United Nations definition of education as the "full development of the human personality," Morin and Cosman urge a re-drafting of the United Nations Strandard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners which will bring those Rules in line with the UN's Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The proposed changes are appended.

Kenneth Neale offers a review of the history of prison education in Western Europe since the Second World War and, in the process of so doing, returns to the dilemma raised in earlier papers: the conflict between inherently coercive prisons and an education which is, or should be, inherently liberating. "International and Comparative Approaches to Education in Prison Regimes" reviews the intersection between matters of policy, management, and design. At the same time, it asserts the creative tension or balance in European thinking about prisons and justice between the needs and aspirations of society and the rights and dignity of individuals. In Britain, Neale sees a shift from a focus on rehabilitation in prison to a new stress on re-socialization "in the context of normalization" or, as Norman Jepson puts it, an end to the isolation of prison from society. In a postscript to his paper, Neale describes the new Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners, adopted by the Council of Europe in 1987, which includes an entirely new section on education.

Prison Education

THE NEED FOR A DECLARATION OF BASIC PRINCIPLES FOR THE TREATMENT OF PRISONERS

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Educational programs in most prisons tend to be inadequate and of inferior quality, except for rare programs of good quality which are the result of individual initiative and extraordinary commitment, rather than the product of institutional policy and planning. The basic reason for the inadequacy and inferiority of most prison education programs is not, however, primarily an educational matter. The underlying cause of their shortcomings is rather a matter of prison policy and criminal justice policy. Education does not flourish in the prison milieu because of the prevailing notions about the purposes of prisons and the nature of criminal justice.

Most criminal law is based partly on the assumption that it should be essentially punitive and retributive. Neither in theory nor in practice is it possible to reconcile those objectives with the objective of education as human development. They are not only incompatible; they are also contradictory. The result is that most prison education tends to be a marginal activity and not well done. Thus, in order to improve education in prisons, and in many cases even to ensure access to education in prisons, it is going to be necessary first to bring about changes in prison policy and criminal justice policy.

Unfortunately, the United Nations Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners do not provide an adequate basis for education in prisons. In fact, they do not include a complete statement of principles for the treatment of prisoners, although it can be argued that they are implied. There is therefore a great need in the field of penal administration for a statement of the basic principles for the treatment of prisoners which would, first of all, recognize the inherent dignity and value of the prisoner as a human being and thereby provide, *inter alia*, an adequate basis for the practice of education in prisons conceived of

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in terms of human development. Such an explicit statement would serve also as an overall guide to the interpretation of the Rules. It would minimize the possibilities of their misinterpretation and thereby contribute very effectively to their implementation and to their incorporation into national legislation and practice.

The original version of the Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners was prepared by the former International Penal and Penitentiary Commission and was endorsed by the League of Nations in 1934. A revised version was adopted by the First UN Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders in 1955 and was approved by the Economic and Social Council in 1957.

The Rules did not pretend to be a systematic body of principle and precept. On the contrary, they made up a code of what was, at the time, generally accepted and considered desirable, a rather detailed consensus of the opinion of the day concerning good practice in the treatment of prisoners and the management of prisons. As such, they were a major advance, and without doubt they have been influential in bringing about many important penal reforms.

The Standard Minimum Rules are influential, not because they are binding on member states, but because they exercise a moral influence on national authorities. Representing, as they do, what the international community considers minimum standards of respectability and decency in the treatment of prisoners, most national authorities would like to be in conformity with them. The Rules, consequently, tend to become reflected in state legislation and in state prison policy. Their evolution is therefore of great importance. For it is a matter of much consequence to prisons and prisoners around the world, and to the people in whose name they are administered and who are ultimately responsible for them, that the Rules are adequate and appropriate, and that they are expressed with the necessary accuracy and intelligibility to achieve their desired effects through the laws and policies of states. In addition, because of the basic principles upon which they rest, the Rules can serve as a constant reminder of the meaning and purpose not only of penal practice and administration but of criminal justice as well.

Over thirty years have passed since the First UN Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders adopted the Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners. The authors of the Rules did not intend that they should be immutable. They foresaw the need for their further development on the basis of experience and new insight. This need has been recognized by several congresses since 1955. In addition, there have been expressions of concern by recent congresses about the implementation of the Rules;

and following the Sixth Congress there was an expression of concern by the Economic and Social Council about the existence of obstacles to their implementation. Moreover, since 1955, other international instruments for the protection of human rights have given expression to concepts not fully reflected in the Rules. It is not surprising, therefore, that in 1984, by Resolution 1984/47, the Economic and Social Council approved a set of Procedures for the Effective Implementation of the Rules, one of which procedures (No. 11) requires the UN Committee on Crime Prevention and Control to "keep under review, from time to time, the Standard Minimum Rules, with a view to the elaboration of new rules, standards and procedures applicable to the treatment of persons deprived of liberty ...."

Some Limitations of the Standard Minimum Rules

It is a weakness of the Rules that they are vague in their rationale and express no guiding or explanatory philosophy. This is a major obstacle to interpretation and to implementation. The most general basic principle of the Rules is formulated as follows:

> PART I, Rule 6
>
> 1. The following rules shall be applied impartially. There shall be no discrimination on the ground of race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status.
> 2. On the other hand, it is necessary to respect the religious beliefs and moral precepts of the group to which a prisoner belongs.

Assuredly, these principles are not wrong, but they do not go very far. While by their nature written rules need to be concise, they need also to express their ideas adequately.

Another basic principle, applicable to prisoners under sentence, is stated as follows:

> PART II, Rule 58
>
> The purpose and justification of a sentence of imprisonment or a similar measure deprivative of liberty is ultimately to protect society against crime.

Although there is some truth in that principle, it is not the whole truth. One particular role of the state cannot logically be isolated and expressed out of context and perspective in that way. While one of the functions of the state is surely to protect society against crime, the state has other functions as well, more positive functions essentially. It is held by many that the role of the state is to promote the welfare and development of the individual members of society in terms of the fulfillment of their basic human needs, needs that are universal, that are shared by all human beings in all ages, for example, life, friendship, knowledge, reasonableness, etc. Amongst such needs it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to discover any objective priority. They seem to be all very basic. The responsibility of the state for protecting society against crime, therefore, is one that should be discharged in keeping with the state's responsibilities for contributing to the fulfillment of other basic human needs as well, for promoting many if not all of the conditions of human flourishing. In defining the objectives of government or any branch of government, it is an error to focus *exclusively* on one particular need, such as the protection of society. To conceive of the role of the criminal justice system in terms *solely* of protecting society against crime is to define it in terms of its differentia, completely ignoring the fact that it has other objectives in common with other branches of government. This is not a question of political ideology; it is a question of logic.

An unfortunate implication of Rule 58 is that prisoners are not just prisoners, that is, persons who have been sentenced and confined to prison, but individuals to be considered offenders or criminals. And, as offenders or criminals commit crimes, the protection of society has to mean prediction and prevention. But what is this right to keep on stigmatizing prisoners as criminals or offenders? Who can say for sure that one is a "born" criminal or an "habitual" criminal? Who is to know? Where is it written that justice has the right to transform itself into a science of predicting behaviour, a kind of anticipatory biography of crime before the fact? Who is to judge? What is justice when it endeavours to judge of the possible further crimes of an individual, judging not only what this individual *has done* but also what he is, will be, and can be? When justice is transformed into prophecy, its appetite for power may become insatiable. What it yearns for, or says it needs, always seems beyond not only the limit of what it actually is but of what it can and should be. It ends up by ambushing itself in twisted imperatives of self-regulation, self-justification, and self-gratification.

The Standard Minimum Rules do, of course, *reflect* other principles which are occasionally alluded to or implied or, in the absence of principles to the contrary, are simply accepted because they are part of the conventional wisdom. Such principles, however, need to be stated to make possible their critical examination and the elucidation of their relationships to other principles.

One principle which is not well expressed in the Rules is a concept of the greatest importance to the United Nations: the concept of the inherent dignity of the individual human person. This concept does not appear at all in the Rules of General Application, and it appears only once in the Rules Applicable to Special Categories. Even there it is not projected as a fundamental principle but in a rather secondary way.

> PART II, Rule 60
>
> 1. The régime of the institution should seek to minimize any differences between prison life and life at liberty which tend to lessen the responsibility of the prisoners or the respect due to their dignity as human beings.

This is not to suggest that the requirements of human dignity are not to some extent provided for by the Rules. It is to suggest, rather, that the principle is not well stated and given appropriate prominence and that it therefore does not have the influence it should have. The effects, or rather the lack of effects, are considerable. We shall return to this basic question of human dignity later.

What is also missing from the Rules is a view of justice. They simply do not say much about justice, a concept that is used in various ways. For example, people speak of a just person, just redress, a just share, a just reward or punishment, a just agreement, a just cause, a just law, a just society, and so on. The idea of justice is also used in a justificatory way, as a warrant for other ideas, programs of action, legislation, and even legal systems. In the name of justice, with justice as the end, activities are organized and conducted in such areas as health care, economic development, environmental protection, education, the status of women, care of the old and disabled, rights of native peoples, and so on. Yet rarely do people say what their idea of justice is, tending instead to use it in this way and that, without precision and without consistency. The idea is, consequently, a confusing and shifting ground for legislation, policy and programs, which is somehow unconvincing and lacking in motive power as a basis of human action and allegiance.

It is the same in the case of criminal justice and with the Rules. What is criminal justice? What is the basis of criminal law? What is the relationship between the legal and the moral? What is the basis of obligation? What is law itself? While it would be manifestly impossible for the Rules to include a thorough philosophy of criminal justice, it would be helpful if they at least identified the main philosophical principles that do in fact, whether they are stated or not, underlie and determine the details of the Rules. The existence of unstated presuppositions is acknowledged in the Rules as follows:

> PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS, Rule 3
>
> On the other hand, the rules cover a field in which thought is constantly developing. They are not intended to preclude experiment and practices, provided these are in harmony with the principles and seek to further the purposes which derive from the text of the rules as a whole ....

Some of these principles and purposes may be questionable and even unsound, thus giving rise to distortion and error in interpretation and implementation.

One such principle is that a justificatory purpose of a sentence of imprisonment is rehabilitation, by which is meant "to ensure, so far as possible, that upon his return to society the offender is not only willing but able to lead a law-abiding and self-supporting life" (Rule 58). Unfortunately, the concept of rehabilitation is laden with misconceptions and ambiguous connotations, especially when it is identified with "treatment" and when the emphasis is on producing "law-abiding" citizens. There is something fundamentally wrong with the concept of treatment—a medical concept—when applied to prisoners; and the notion of a law-abiding citizen is not very helpful either. To illustrate, many Nazis were law-abiding citizens who nevertheless tortured and killed Jews.

There is something negative about the idea of rehabilitation. It is somehow estranged from the idea of person, from the positive notion of human promotion and development. In fact, rehabilitation may amount to no more than an updated process of scapegoating, albeit more sophisticated than the ancient processes of immolation. Certainly, most approaches to rehabilitation have been ineffective. And the reason for the ineffectiveness has nothing to do with insufficient research in causality or etiology, or with taxonomies of measurable objectives. The problem is with an inadequate philosophy of human conduct. Many techniques of rehabilitation reflect a philosophy of human behaviour as the product of a solitary will and reason. According to this view, the individual exists by himself alone, as an autonomous and atomic self, and not as a self that is achieved through a complex of relations, through its interaction with the world. Modern approaches to rehabilitation simply do not address the fundamental question of human relations.

A second unstated and questionable principle underlying the Rules is that criminal justice is and should be fundamentally punitive. By definition, punishment is the infliction of suffering. While penal sanctions may sometimes happen to be painful, should they necessarily be so? On the contrary, it can be argued with some force that they should be reparative and reconciliatory. In the Rules, however, there is an acceptance of criminal law as a kind of penal magic, as if violence can produce non-violence, or as if reconciliation can be the aim and effect of punishment. Hence, the impotence of much criminal law in the face of what it does not change but which it nevertheless tries to annul through punishment. Here again, as with the principle of rehabilitation, the accepted wisdom concerning the punitive nature of criminal justice reflects the status quo and does not address the underlying question of human relations, of reciprocal human need, mutual obligation, and esteem.

A third questionable principle that is generally part of the accepted wisdom and undoubtedly underlies the Rules is that one of the fundamental aims of criminal justice is retribution. This principle affirms that justice requires a *fitting* response to wrongdoing, a response that is appropriate and adequate. This reveals a kind of justice as violence. It assumes a notion of the violence of justice as an inevitable response or reply to an earlier violence, and on and on. It confirms, without being able to acknowledge, that there is little difference between the violent act which the violence of justice is intended to prevent or punish and the violence itself. It is difficult to avoid observing that, as a response to and reprisal against violence, justice as violence or retribution is symmetrical with vengeance, however legal and "due processed" this retribution may be. In the accepted wisdom, criminal justice seems inseparable from violence. This inherent violence within the system forces it to accept the principle of retribution.

Another unstated principle but nevertheless present in the Rules is that one of the aims of criminal justice is deterrence. This principle is often used to justify punishment in general and a sentence of imprisonment in particular. The argument lacks force, however, in the absence of much evidence to support it, and in view of the accepted fact that, not only do prisons not deter crime, they are criminogenic. It is maintained by some that prisons could be freed of a large proportion of their populations without danger to society or increase in the rate of crime. Moreover, this principle of deterrence reflects a very pessimistic view of human nature, a rejection in fact of the hope of human development.

To return to the starting point and without prolonging this analysis further, although it could be extended, it is evident that the Standard Minimum Rules would benefit from a statement of their underlying rationale, from a systematic presentation of the principles on which they are based and of which they are the operational implications, which would make possible a critical examination of their foundations. Such an examination might reveal, for example, that the principle of the dignity of the human person is in conflict with principles such as rehabilitation, punishment, and retribution, that the Rules in fact seek to achieve contradictory objectives, possibly as the result of political compromise in order to find consensus. But contradiction in attempts to justify or explain objectives is one thing (different theoretical justifications of human rights, for example, may be contradictory), but contradictory objectives are something else altogether. One cannot at one and the same time act on the contradictory imperatives to walk and stand still, to speak and remain silent. Contradictory objectives can lead only to stalemate or paralysis. And here again, this is not a problem of opinion or consensus; it is a question of logic.

Human Dignity: The Basic Principle

The principle of human dignity, which as indicated earlier is more or less missing from the Rules, is expressed in the Charter of the United Nations and in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It is recognized also in subsequent instruments, for example, in the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, and in the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, and it is a basic concept of the Helsinki Accords. The concept is to be found also in various resolutions and declarations of a number of international bodies. The dignity of the individual human person has come to be recognized as a universal principle underlying the relationships between peoples, individuals, and cultures. And the reason is simple: human dignity is a value which all human beings share in common precisely because they are persons. All human beings, however repugnant and depraved, whatever their sex, their age, their language, their state of health, their religious beliefs or their social situation, have an inviolable dignity as persons. This is far-reaching. The prisoner who is a rapist or murderer, the deformed child broken by the constant suffering of illness, the withered old man deteriorated by wear and tear or self-sacrifice, the mentally deranged person dispossessed of his faculties, each one has a sacred dignity. Respecting human dignity means accepting that a person is a person no matter what. If bioethics, for example, is preoccupied with the value and status of the foetus and of the embryo, if it is concerned about genetic manipulation, euthanasia, and *in vitro* fertilization, it is because of the binding respect commanded by the principle of human dignity.

Individuals can philosophize about human dignity, but the affirmation here of the fact without the proof is not a methodological blunder to be avoided, for it signifies nothing less than the advent of humanity. So that human dignity is neither the product of some arbitrary choice nor the result of some mental caprice or fancy. Human dignity is a fundamental and sacred value which imposes itself upon man's faculties and to which he can only respond. Human dignity is more than a right. It is the basis of all rights.

What then are the implications of this concept for prison administrations, criminal justice systems, and in fact for all social programs? At the most fundamental level, there is the injunction to respect the intrinsic worth of the human being per se, to attach a sacred value to the individual person and to treat him accordingly, *in the fullness of his nature and not just in one of his special aspects*, for example, as a worker, a consumer, a prisoner, and so on, and not limited either by the interpretative concepts of any particular science.

The dignity of the human person implies such fundamental things as treating every human being as an end in himself and not just as a means. "So act as to treat humanity," enjoins Immanuel Kant, "whether in thine own person or that of another, in every case as an end withal, never as a means only" (*Groundwork of the Metaphysics of Morals*). It implies acknowledging the freedom of individual choice in such matters as social arrangements and family life, avoiding coercion and other demeaning or humiliating acts. It implies such things and more.

There are human needs—love, friendship, a sense of solidarity, etc.—which belong to "another order," as Hegel would say, the order of personhood, of human development. Criminal law tends to look backwards, so to speak, responding to the need for protection, which is important of course when human survival is at stake. The need to survive and the need to develop, however, are two very different needs. Criminal law tends also to be directed against injustice, which is also useful when human rights are at issue. Again, however, basic human rights and basic human needs are not identical. Even when human needs give birth to human rights, the latter do not suffice, as they cannot guarantee the generosity and brotherhood which nourish the need and the spirit of fraternal obligation. Love, friendship, fraternal obligation are needs which belong to this higher order, the order of human promotion, which is over and above the order of protection and prevention. This higher order is the order of human dignity.

Does Prison Education Reflect the Basic Principle?

Human life is not static; it is dynamic, a process of becoming. It is a process of becoming what it is a human being's nature to become, a process of realization, of fulfillment. The concept of the dignity of the human person thus implies respect for the individual not only in his actuality but also in his potentiality. It implies respect for the human person as he can become. This is a fundamental principle of education, as education in its essence is aimed at human development, at guiding the process whereby people become what they have the possibility of becoming as human persons. On the principle of human dignity, therefore, education, which is uniquely and pre-eminently concerned with learning and human development, education conceived of in genuinely human terms, should be a fundamental concern of the prison. In practice, however, education is rarely more than a marginal activity of most prisons. According to most studies, from official reports to informal first-hand accounts by professional educators, prison education programs are mostly of inferior quality. The manifestations are many: low expectations, poor educational achievement, weak curricula, and so on. Moreover, there is a lack of a profound and articulated philosophy of education—not uncommon in the field of education when an express recognition of the inherent dignity of the human person is absent.

Article 26 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and Article 13 of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights prescribe that "education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality ...." On the basis of that prescription, education is not just the teaching of facts and skills and rules of conduct. It is not just a matter of training. Education aimed at the development of the human personality is a matter of developing human capacities for dynamic intellectual activity and active moral judgement. This requires a method and an environment which will stimulate and enable the student to fashion the instruments of logical thought and of moral reasoning and in the formation of which the student must collaborate. Such collaboration cannot take place in an authoritarian atmosphere of intellectual and moral restraint where learning is conceived of as simply receiving an intellectual heritage or professional training. Nor can it take place in a totally relativistic atmosphere as if there were no reality outside the self, as if it were possible for the self to develop and find meaning except through community with an objective order.

Moreover, education directed to the development of the human personality does not proceed very far in a fragmented way. As Piaget pointed out in "The Right to Education in the Modern World" (*Freedom and Culture,* 1971), such education presupposes certain conditions, including "the existence of a collective environment simultaneously developing the moral personality and representing a systematic source of intellectual exchanges."

> Real intellectual activity in the form of experiment and spontaneous inquiry cannot, in fact, develop without the free collaboration of individuals, that is, amongst the students themselves and not merely collaboration between the individual student and the teacher. Intellectual activity requires not only constant mutual stimulation, but also, and in particular, mutual control and the exercise of the critical spirit .... Logical operations are, in fact, always cooperative operations, and they imply a whole series of intellectual reciprocal relationships, and cooperation which is simultaneously moral and rational.

Education directed to the full development of the human personality thus involves the intellectual, emotional, social, and moral domains. Such a concept of education is quite foreign to contemporary approaches to prison administration.

There has been much confusion surrounding the nature and the role of education in prisons. In practice, prison education is most often seen primarily as a way of operating the prison, as one of the many tools of incarcerational technology. While its institutional presence is more than sporadic, its traces, in terms of human development, are sediments with no evident persistence in the stratum of the various serious attempts at reform, moments of no lasting impact in the discontinuous efforts at change. As a result, attempts to speak of the practice of prison education amount, in fact, to speaking of incarcerational practice. And there are a number of prevailing concepts of the role of prison education which illustrate the correctional ideology. For example, prison education is seen as an obligatory classification of deviation and a gradation of differences, a training of tendencies and discipline of attitudes, an identification of lacunae and isolation of their causes, a privileged technique of moral correction, a studied pretext for establishing criteria of normality, panoptic surveillance and control, exculpatory compensation, economic strategy, and so on. All of these, obviously, are linked to the primary orientation of the correctional ideology from which they can be separated only as extensions and variants.

Most correctional or penal ideology in modern times has been based on some combination of four approaches: discipline and control, isolation, training for work, and treatment. The modern prison has usually governed in detail all aspects of individual life. It has had almost total power over prisoners, with its own mechanisms of repression and punishment. It has sought to achieve reformation through enforcement, through restraint, through imposing new ways of thinking and feeling and acting.

The modern prison has also resorted to the technique of isolation, of isolating prisoners not only from the external world but also from each other. Solitude has been used both as a means of submission and as an instrument of reform, sometimes to habituate prisoners to prescribed rules of conduct, sometimes to evoke stirrings of conscience, but almost always it has involved the coercive eradication of the prisoner's relationships to others, except such as may be imposed by the prison.

The modern prison has also attempted to train prisoners in certain skills and in habits of work, order and obedience, to the end of preparing them for paid employment. That purely utilitarian aim has determined the nature of most training and education available to prisoners.

Finally, the modern prison has used a method of treatment, sometimes called correctional training, which has been essentially a mechanical process. Most treatment programs have been based on the assumption that criminal behaviour can be explained in terms of some psychopathological condition requiring cure through various forms of therapy. The results are well known. There is little evidence of the effectiveness of such programs.

It is clear that the concept of education as directed to the full development of the human personality goes much beyond the prevailing concepts and practices of prison education. It is clear also that the aim of human development inherent in the basic principle of human dignity, and expressed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and in the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, has not been seriously attempted in the modern prison. To the limited extent to which it has occasionally been tried, it has suffered from being conceived of as only a means of serving what is assumed to be the "ultimate" purpose of a sentence of imprisonment: the protection of society against crime. Human development, however, cannot without distortion be considered a means subordinate to the end of protecting society, or even be defined exclusively in terms of social reintegration. Human development is not a means; it does not need to be justified by some other end; it is an end in itself.

Conclusion

To summarize, because the Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners represent what the international community considers minimum standards of respectability and decency in the treatment of prisoners, they are very influential. Unfortunately, they include no underlying rationale, an omission which is a major obstacle to interpretation and to implementation. The Basic Principle of the Rules (Rule 6) sets out no basic purposes at all. One of the Guiding Principles Applicable to Prisoners under Sentence (Rule 58), which states that "the purpose and justification of a sentence of imprisonment or a similar measure deprivative of liberty is ultimately to protect society against crime," is a gross oversimplification in that it does not take into account the state's other responsibilities for the general welfare, some of which have important implications for the treatment of prisoners.

Also, the Rules do not emphasize or even accord much place to the fundamental principle of the inherent dignity of the human person upon which so much else depends. Moreover, the Rules say very little about justice or criminal justice, and they leave it largely to those working in the field to derive from the text of the Rules their underlying principles. Thus, as the Rules tend to reflect prevailing practice, and as they include no rationale which might point in other directions, they tend to support and even perpetuate the conventional wisdom according to which penal justice is essentially punitive and retributive and carried out, however ineffectively, by some combination of four approaches: discipline and control, isolation, training for work, and treatment according to a medical-disease concept of criminal behaviour. Unfortunately, these principles of punishment and retribution and these traditional approaches are incompatible with the principle of human dignity which is perhaps the paramount principle of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. It is thus not surprising that, as most experts agree, the modern prison has been a failure.

The reform of prevailing penal practices obviously will require some profound rethinking of the principles of criminal justice, the nature of human relationship, the implications of human dignity, the requirements of human development, and the origins of violence. Such an analysis would provide a background for a thorough review of the Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners. As this is a major undertaking, however, which would require considerable time, it would be desirable to take an interim step, acceptable to all concerned, which would serve for the time being to provide a basis of principle for interpreting and implementing the Rules, other than mainly by custom, and more in keeping with the UN's long-standing concern for human dignity and the development of the human person. This could be achieved by a United Nations Declaration of Basic Principles for the Treatment of Prisoners.

The first element to be included in such a Declaration is a clear expression of the principle of human dignity. That is essential, as justice alone is insufficient for a just society. Justice is both a legal and a moral matter, the latter being the natural foundation of the former. When we forget this basic truth, there occurs in justice what occurs in many other areas: it is our perceptions that create reality, rather than reality that determines our perceptions. So that the realities of justice and the law we have configured often turn out to be but the reifications of our perceptions of justice and the law. And unless one becomes aware of the dissonance between reality and belief, no change is possible. The Rules, therefore, should somehow recognize that our cultural mind has become conscious of this dissonance between the reality of justice and our beliefs about justice. Our ideas about right, nature, human nature, truth, good, consciousness, causality, justice, law, etc., have all undergone Copernican revolutions in recent years. We cannot ignore these changes, because they have had a profound effect on our theories and practices of justice. Accordingly, should not the Standard Minimum Rules reflect some of the discoveries concerning our basic assumptions about justice and law? For instance, that justice, unrooted in natural law or ethics, can only reveal its profound anchorage in arbitrariness. For instance, that justice, detached from love and friendship, is but a blind catechism of social peace and order, teaching by rote and by decree the articles of community faith and the artificial regulations establishing the self-sufficing and self-correcting borderlines between the pure and the impure, the permitted and the forbidden—the legal and the illegal. And when justice is "straight-jacketed" in the legal, it more often than not appears stale and diminished. It is clear, clearer perhaps in international law than in some areas, that justice needs to be nourished by friendship. For "when human beings are friends they have no need of justice, whereas when they are just they still need friendship" (Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, VIII, 1).

DECLARATION OF BASIC PRINCIPLES FOR THE TREATMENT OF PRISONERS

In 1988, twelve international non-governmental organizations joined in presenting the statement below to the United Nations. The statement consists of a brief rationale and a draft resolution affirming a Declaration of Basic Principles for the Treatment of Prisoners. It is hoped that the Declaration will be adopted by the Eighth United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders (1990), and that it will be subsequently approved by the Economic and Social Council and endorsed by the General Assembly. This will require the support of many national governments.

United Nations Economic and Social Council
Statement E/AC.57/1988/NGO/3
27 July 1988

Committee on Crime Prevention and Control, Tenth Session
Vienna, 22–31 August 1988

Statement submitted by Caritas Internationalis, the Commission of the Churches on International Affairs of the World Council of Churches, the International Association of Educators for World Peace, the International Council for Adult Education, the International Federation of Human Rights, the International Union of Students, The Salvation Army, the World Alliance of Young Men's Christian Associations, the World Council of Indigenous Peoples, non-governmental organizations in consultative status with the Economic and Social Council, category II.

The Secretary-General has received the following statement, which is circulated in accordance with the provisions of Economic and Social Council resolution 1296 (XLIV), paragraphs 29 and 30, of 23 May 1968.

1. This statement deals in particular with a Declaration of Basic Principles for the Treatment of Prisoners. It should be noted that this statement is also endorsed by three non-governmental organizations that are on the roster: the African Association for Literacy and Adult Education; the International Council for Distance Education; and World Education.

2. There are human needs: love, friendship, a sense of solidarity, etc., that are over and above the needs for protection and prevention and belong to the order of human promotion. This higher order is the order of human dignity. Human dignity is an inherent, inviolable quality of each individual human

being, be he or she black or white, rich or poor, strong or weak, young or old, mentally handicapped, derelict, prisoner. It is the basis of all human rights and obligations. It is a basic principle recognized in the Charter of the United Nations and in the International Bill of Human Rights. It should be a basic principle for the treatment of prisoners.

3. Education, conceived of as human development, has an important role to play in the field of penal administration. Education is a basic human need—the need to become what one has the possibilities of becoming as a human person. It is a condition of mutual understanding and friendship, a prerequisite to justice and world peace. It is also an instrument of social and economic development. Article 26 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and article 13 of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights state that everyone has a right to education and prescribe that "education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality ...." It should be a basic principle for the treatment of prisoners.

4. There is a great need in the field of penal administration for a statement of the basic principles for the treatment of prisoners that would, *inter alia*, recognize the inherent dignity and value of the prisoner as a human person and provide an adequate basis for the practice of education in prisons conceived of in terms of human development. Such a statement would serve also as an overall guide to the interpretation of the United Nations Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners. This would minimize the possibilities of their misinterpretation and thereby contribute very effectively to their implementation and to their incorporation into national legislation and practice. Finally, such a statement would strengthen the moral influence and the crucial role of the United Nations in the area of crime prevention and criminal justice.

5. The nine non-governmental organizations submitting this statement therefore join in recommending the resolution set out below.

RESOLUTION

Bearing in mind the long-standing concern of the United Nations for the humanization of criminal justice and the protection of human rights,

Bearing in mind also that sound policies of crime prevention and control are essential to planning for economic and social development,

Recognizing that the United Nations Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners, adopted by the First United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders, are of great value and influence in the development of penal policy and practice, *Considering* the concerns of previous congresses pertaining to the implementation of the Rules, and the concern of the Economic and Social Council that there exist obstacles of various kinds to the full implementation of the Rules,

Believing that full implementation of the Rules would be facilitated by the expression of the basic principles underlying them,

Desiring to reflect at the Eighth United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders a perspective noted by the Seventh United Nations Congress, namely, that the function of the criminal justice system is to contribute to the basic values and norms of society,

Affirm the following statement of basic principles for the treatment of prisoners,

Declaration of Basic Principles for the Treatment of Prisoners

1. All prisoners shall be treated with the respect due to their inherent dignity and value as human beings;

2. There shall be no discrimination on the grounds of race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth, or other status;

3. It is, however, necessary to respect the religious beliefs and moral precepts of the group to which a prisoner belongs;

4. The responsibility of prisons for the custody of prisoners and for the protection of society against crime shall be carried out in keeping with a State's other social objectives and its fundamental responsibilities for promoting the well-being and development of all members of society;

5. Except for the necessary limitation of the freedom of movement, all prisoners shall retain the human rights and fundamental freedoms set out in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and its Optional Protocol, and such other rights as are set out in other covenants of the United Nations;

6. All prisoners shall have the right to take part in cultural life and to education directed to the full development of the human personality;

7. The above principles shall be applied impartially.

Policy and Practice

INTERNATIONAL AND COMPARATIVE APPROACHES TO EDUCATION IN PRISON REGIMES

Kenneth Neale

Adapted from the theme-setting address for the international seminar on Strategy for Education in Prison Regimes, *sponsored by the Open University and the Home Office, Wiston House, Steyning, 1984.*

In this paper I seek to establish a contextual framework within which prison education may be viewed. We are working in this field at a time when recent experience has underlined the importance of the educational elements in modern prison regimes and when the Council of Europe has initiated a major international study of the subject in comprehensive terms. In satisfying the needs of individuals we now understand and acknowledge more about the potential for personal *growth* in work and education that was passionately advocated by those humane philosophers William Morris in England, and, later, Simone Weil in France. Both work and education have been enmeshed in those repressive attitudes through which moral virtue and duty were so often elevated in Victorian social philosophy. Education has largely escaped from that constraining intellectual environment and is proving to be a major asset in enriching and re-vitalizing flagging prison regimes which survive on the diversity that it can offer.

On another plane the increasingly inhibiting factors that have eroded the world's major economies in the last decade have exacerbated the problems traditionally experienced in priming the prison regimes with positive and demanding work. Beyond that the stability offered to prisoners on release in their family and working lives has been threatened to the point where unemployment for many is the probability beyond the prison gate.

As well, we are confronted by another important aspect of imprisonment which is itself of major consequence in social terms. In Europe there are more than a third of a million people in prison; throughout the world the figure runs into millions. These people have families and

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friends and they too are involved as are the staff of the prisons and other social agencies and their families. All of these tens of millions of people and society in general are implicated in some way with the problem that arises from the use of imprisonment as the social response to serious or persistent criminal or delinquent behaviour. It is a massive issue of moral as well as of political dimensions.

My objective here is to identify the role of prison education in sustaining people during custody and in preparing prisoners for their release into the insecurity of life in the community. It is an essential constituent of liberal education, in its many roles, that it should seek to interrogate the environment in which it takes place with challenging and positive questions including those that concern the content and purpose of education itself. Modern societies are manifestly demanding and are as prone to corrupt as to redeem; it is through education that societies strive to civilize human experience. Prisons are of their nature coercive; education is, or should be, inherently liberating. That is the conjunction and the key to our tasks.

The International Dimension

This paper is addressed to an international audience and it is appropriate, therefore, to formulate ideas and to project information in broad international terms. It must be acknowledged, however, that there are problems, as well as advantages, in seeking to make international statements or comparisons. In regard to statistical data and methodology and effectiveness of penal administrations, for example, direct comparisons are inherently difficult, often inappropriate and even unrealistic. There are obvious methodological problems of definitions, statistical variables, effectiveness and practice, environmental and demographic influences. Furthermore, prison systems tend to reflect their own societies, indigenous values and traditions. Standards and the concepts of deprivation are relative. Nor is it always easy or even feasible to transfer proven practices from one country to another. It is much easier and more beneficial, on the other hand, to transmit ideas and experience across the international frontiers. In that process it is likely that the evaluation of entrenched practices will be enriched to advantage and the mind encouraged to range more freely over the options for change and progress even if a particular solution, culled from the international exchange, is not politically or economically available in the national context.

Crime, Imprisonment and Society: A Philosophical View

It would be stretching the generality of my brief too far to advance a theory about culpability and punishment despite the important moral and political issues that would generate. Suffice it here to argue that crime is not something that is derived from imprisonment although it may be exacerbated by it. Crime is a feature of life in the community. Imprisonment is all too frequently the defence that society opposes to crime. Whilst imprisonment is the formal expression of punishment, the prisons and the prison regime should be seen as instruments for social reinstatement. Beyond their custodial functions, the prisons have the duty, together with the other social agencies, of helping to promote the civilizing and supportive influences that sustain a secure and contented society. The reality is that the social implications and human burdens of imprisonment fall not merely upon the offender. The distress, the responsibilities, and the conflicts inherent in punishment by imprisonment rest also upon the families concerned, the prison staffs, and upon society at large.

This sweeping simplistic assertion is made to emphasize the weakness of looking at these problems in isolation. Much of the inadequacy that all social systems seem to experience in coping with the problems of imprisonment derives from the restricted approaches that are made to them. Politically, these problems are inconvenient, expensive, unattractive, and therefore tend to be low in priority. Socially, the stigmas and disabilities attached to prisoners and to prisons often isolate those features of the problem that could most effectively benefit from being tackled in a comprehensive social framework. Thus I would emphasize the need to see the problem, the question about priorities, and the evaluation in the broadest possible terms. Similarly, when we come to contemplate the status and roles of education in the prisons, we must see these issues from the widest practicable angles of policy, of management, and of regime design.

In Europe, the perception of imprisonment has, historically, been periodically reassessed in intellectual and moral terms as a result of the dynamic influences of wider social changes or political events. The resonances of social change have been articulated by the great reformers and stimulated by the impetus of war and revolution in the political fora. By the time of the Second World War in Europe the moral and political momentum that derived from the dramatic social upheavals of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries had almost run its course in penal reform. We can see a new watershed in European penology after the liberation of Europe in 1945 in an impressive historical perspective.

Resiling from the awesome and distressing experience of repression and the degrading and dehumanizing episodes inseparable from war, European countries struggled with vigour and purpose to ameliorate the conditions of imprisonment and to moderate the coercive roles of state authority. A flood of progressive, ambitious, and optimistic legislation reshaped and redefined the penal systems of a Western Europe slowly recovering from the ravages of the devastating war that had shattered the complacent societies of the pre-war period.

So far as it is possible to reduce this complicated process of thought and practice to basic principles, it seems that within the member states of the Council of Europe the broad approaches since 1945 have been characterized by at least three major themes of common policy:

- that, in punishments involving the deprivation of liberty, deprivation should be seen as the sole instrument of punishment;
- that treatment regimes must be aimed principally at re-education and resocialization;
- that the administration of the prisons must show respect for the fundamental rights of individuals.

Internationally, these criteria are embodied in the Standard Minimum Rules of the United Nations and the Council of Europe as well as the Human Rights Conventions. European penal philosophy is now concerned less with the retributive aspects of punishment than with the social and penal prevention of crime and, in the context of imprisonment as an ultimate punishment, the social rehabilitation of offenders and victim support. The movement for penal reform in Europe has taken place in parallel with a process of socioeconomic change. Within this process may be identified several important strands of influence: the distressing circumstances resulting from the aftermath of war; the growth of social disturbance and disruption leading to street violence and other conspicuous crimes; the problems of migrant workers and the influx of new ethnic groups with resultant cultural and racial tensions; and the growth of criminality in general. To these may be added the changing aspirations of prison staff; the development of a new criminological philosophy with its political and social attitudes to penal problems; and the growth of the international exchange of ideas and experience.

Thus, throughout Europe, two basic features of post-war experience have focussed attention on the agencies of the criminal justice systems and driven them to seek more coherent strategies. The first is the perceived scale of criminal activity and the conspicuous increase in violence and disorder which is rooted in social protest, revolutionary politics, and the weakening of ethical and moral responsibility. The second is pressure on inadequately resourced prison systems, even in some of those countries which appear to have contained this problem by developing a wide range of alternative disposals and modified sentencing practices. Central to the strategic approach are the distribution of resources and judgements about the relationships between the roles of the social agencies. These issues give rise to the questions about the involvement of the judicial resource in the wider continuum, the style of policing, the nature of imprisonment, and the fundamental structure and quality of society.

The European role has been to inform the debate in all these areas, to seek through interstate cooperation the harmonization of legislation, to buttress the efforts of national agencies, and, most important, to establish international standards which balance the needs and aspirations of society with the rights and dignity of individuals. The European experience has thus been characterized more by common denominators than by any fundamental differences except those that relate to scale, or the particular circumstances of the smaller countries. The growth and change in criminality, the disparity between resources and need, and, in recent years, the decline in the European economy have all influenced developments in the criminal justice systems. The growing pressures within society itself can be dealt with only in social, political, and moral terms. The responses to these, in terms of penal policy and practice, can no longer rely on a growth of matching resources. Strategies have therefore been based on a complementary process. More and better resources have been paralleled by measures to diminish or divert demand. These include a wider range of judicial disposals, more flexibility and a lower tariff in sentencing, measures like parole to reduce the prison population in a controlled and responsible way, and improved social support services. As must be expected, those countries which have less pressure, more resources and, most importantly, a more resilient and supportive social environment, have been more successful.

The most prominent strands in the penal debate—much of it inspired by experience in the stable and progressive systems of Scandinavia and the Netherlands—have been focussed on the role of imprisonment. Issues of delinquency, policing, sentencing, and supervision can be identified, quantified and evaluated in terms of whether or not imprisonment is the appropriate response to antisocial or criminal activity and the nature of the objectives of the custodial experience. This leads to questions, expressed historically as concerning retribution, deterrence, and reform; colloquially, as humane containment, short sharp shock, and positive custody; pejoratively as warehousing or holiday camps. At the root of our difficulty in establishing a convincing rationale for imprisonment is the failure, as I have argued, to see the process in the perspective of social problems and to acknowledge the comprehensiveness of the roles of the prison services which cannot be measured with precision or validity by, for example, the statistics of reconviction. Nor can these issues be accommodated outside the political framework whether that is expressed in terms of community aspiration, the protection of society, or the credibility of government. It perhaps sounds trite—but it lies at the heart of the common European approach to criminal justice—to state that the strategic objectives to which the concept of imprisonment is crucial, are to nourish the attributes of an orderly society, to sustain public confidence in the effectiveness and relevance of law, and to preserve the intrinsic justice and humanity of the process through which these ends are sought.

Penal Policies and Regimes

In the hard pressed and overcrowded major prison systems there is often stated a pessimistic belief that events control progress and that treatment is constantly threatened by the impact of operational situations. To a degree there is truth in that. However, despite the conspicuous pressures of day-to-day life in the prisons, it is policy, albeit modified by the practical realities, that in the end is definitive in institutional management. Whether it is systematically expressed, or grows naturally out of experience, the reality in management terms is that the life of institutions or of individuals, staff or prisoners within them ultimately depends on policy. Yet it is commonly supposed, and there is a high degree of acquiescence in this view even in the most autonomous units, that policy is the sole prerogative of the higher administration. In truth, the process of policy formulation in prison systems is incapable of such simplistic expression. It is made through the complex interplay of influences ultimately derived from public opinion, international and national law, management aspirations, staff responses, and the reactions of prisoners to their own environment. The whole gamut of policy extends from ambitions about the conceptual nature of penal treatment to simple, but definitive qualitative decisions, made by wing staff or education officers (for example, in relation to such matters as locking and unlocking, or access to correspondence courses), the developing practices for which can modify policy. In that general sense more people are engaged in policy formulation, with all its practical significance, at one level or another, than is readily understood let alone conceded. That is right, healthy, and inevitable. It should be acknowledged in the nature of the relationships between the administration of the institutions and their staff within the prison systems.

Policy formulation is charged first to accommodate the broad underlying philosophies which are intended to shape the activity with which it is concerned. This is burdened with experience and the retrospective thinking that inevitably inhibits the changes of pace and direction which it is the function of policy to inspire. From the cumulative experience and the changing ambitions that surround the management task and the stimulus that that provides, the issues will emerge, first from analysis, and then, one hopes, by objective evaluation. That is the ideal; the pure theory. In practice prison systems, like other organs of public administration, are inhibited by constraint.

First there are the formal constraints which flow from domestic law, prison legislation, and the statutory rules and operational orders of the prison systems themselves. Beyond those there are international law and conventions, the human rights instruments, and the Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners. Then there is the constraint of resource availability which embraces the existing capital of the system, development funds and recurrent money that is determined by corporate planning, forward estimating, and current accounting. Next, there are the practical constraints which are rooted in public policy and public opinion, Parliament, the penal lobby, attitudes among staff and prisoners, and the results of experience.

All this represents a complicated pattern of finite and mobile parameters enclosing areas of influence and practical opportunity. In practice we seek in operational policy equilibrium through compromise; within development policy we contrive progress by creating or exploiting room for manoeuvre. In these terms it is not possible to see policy as some readily defined, static or tangible arena in which prison administration can operate in the confident expectation of a steady, predictable, and successful result. It is a varied, complex, and plastic area of thought and action, at once major and trivial; permanent and ephemeral; conspicuous and unperceived. This generalized view of policy and the apparatus within which it is produced poses a few questions.

Given all this how then is the content of policy itself inspired? Certainly it is through the catalytic influences of experience and debate. That is natural; but specifically by departmental thinking, the products of expert enquiry and commissioned work as well as in the political and legal processes. How about the resources? Do they in the end determine policy? I do not think so. They control the pace and they inhibit strategic approaches, but it is the intrinsic attributes of policy that will find practical expression in the management of prison systems.

Regime Strategies

The resources, intellectual and scientific, of modern societies are enabling those concerned with strategic planning to look more comprehensively and to respond more relevantly to problems that, although they may arise in one area of activity, have their roots elsewhere. The problems of delinquency are now seen to be as much concerned with environmental conditions, family and community relationships, and therefore with social policy as with the more direct responses that derive from criminal justice. The recognition, whether acknowledged as a moral precept or as a pragmatic reflex, that society at large shares or should share the roles of criminal justice agencies in coping with criminality stems from this comprehensive view. The gravamen of penal policy is now being charged with fundamental freedoms and rights and an aspiration for optimum liberty and treatment aimed at resocialization. All these approaches are underpinned by the Standard Minimum Rules and the Human Rights conventions. That has implications for the purpose and content of the prison regimes. Regimes that are enriched and stimulating depend for their impact in the main on the nature of the cultural environment and the working and training relationships between staff and prisoners.

It has been the experience in Britain in recent years that the increasing pressure of numbers, the changing nature of the prison population, and the disabilities that flow from inadequate resources have eroded the contacts between prisoners and staff. That has impoverished the relationships on which the most valuable influences in treatment rely. It has been a two-way process. Staff have resiled from threatening and unrewarding contact; and prisoners, increasingly frustrated by the conditions in overcrowded prisons, have retreated into a mood of sullen alienation. The generally oppressive and dominating environment of the closed prisons has exacerbated this problem. The criminally charged inmate culture is insulated from the influences that staff seek to exert and, in closed conditions, is increasingly impenetrable. It is necessary, then, in designing prison regimes that will fructify in contemporary circumstances, to pursue measures that will create an operational environment in which contacts between staff of all disciplines and prisoners can be increased and strengthened without detriment to the morale and security of the staff and the prisons.

The inherent stress between the rehabilitative and constraining objectives of imprisonment makes this an essential problem for policy and practice. It engages the prison business in all its dimensions; the philosophy of punishment, the physical environment, the management climate, and the ingredients of the treatment regimes. So far as the regimes are concerned, there is still too much that prisoners find demeaning or irrelevant. Too much that, well below the intellectual or motor skill capacity of many prisoners, seems to re-emphasize their captivity, to devalue their personality, and invalidate the objectives of policy. So often it seems, in contemplating the patterns of stress and incompatibility that one meets in the prison paradigm, that staff are over-stretched and the prisoners under-extended. Life outside, it may well be argued, is much the same for vast numbers of people. So it is. Nevertheless, it is all too easy to regard prisons and prisoners as quite unlike society in general or other people. This is a seriously erroneous view and is extremely damaging to the concept of imprisonment and the objectives of prison regimes as a rehabilitative process. It is especially deleterious when prisoners come to regard themselves as different from other people. That this situation all too frequently obtains is not simply a consequence of the background and personal inadequacy of particular offenders or the frequent absence of a secure family environment. Such alienations can be a consequence of imprisonment itself and prison regimes must acknowledge this seemingly intractable problem. When a person is removed from his familiar environment and finds himself in prison his identity and the stability of his life style are immediately threatened. The old anchorages are gone. Only if the design of prison treatment is orientated to the fact that the offender has to return to the society from which he has been removed or has alienated himself will it be relevant to the need. The best way in which this isolation may be broken down, given that he will have to attack the problems of unemployment, home background, personal inadequacy, illiteracy and numeracy, as well as specific problems such as drugs and alcohol, is through an individualized approach that sees the regime as the vehicle for resocialization.

But it must be stated, resocialization is not the only objective. There is the danger of a damaging deterioration in the morale, attitude, and capacity of individuals, especially when long periods of imprisonment are involved. Increasingly, therefore, prison practitioners are anxious about the consequences of imprisonment itself. How can we approach these twin objectives? One approach is what I have called the reality prison—the trend towards normalizing the prison experience. The traditional track has been the commitment of treatment regimes and resources to rehabilitation. Now there seems to be a transitional process which seeks to promote stabilization and social reintegration. Encouraging normality in the prisons means redefining the conceptual boundaries of imprisonment; developing and individualizing the custodial continuum; and establishing more relevant and realistic criteria for regime design and treatment evaluation.

The previous view of rehabilitation has been overtaken by the broader, deeper objectives for resocialization in the context of normalization. That is the essential goal of the reality prison; developing treatment regimes that replicate, as far as possible, social norms and activities inside the prison environment. There is an assumption of normalcy constrained only by the essential purposes of imprisonment—for example, security and control—and an approach to such matters as access to telephones, freedom of correspondence, education, and work opportunities as facets of prison life that can be denied in defined circumstances but do not have to be conferred because they are integral to the normality of a reality prison. The promotion of an environment that stresses prisoners through demanding choice and imposing responsibility in positive ways is an important aspect of this approach.

I must emphasize that this is not a rejection of the traditional objectives of care and rehabilitation which must remain as the essential criteria. It is a contemporary reformulation designed to inspire a new ethos for penal treatment and rehabilitation. Along with the general thrust toward better physical conditions and a defined status for prisoners in regard to their rights, privileges, and the opportunities for treatment and training, and better, more contemporary, management using advanced technology, I think that this ethos will be one of the principal avenues of advance for the future. Within all the facets of this approach education will surely have a primary role because of its liberal relevance and intrinsic humanity.

Education Within Prison Regimes

The last few decades have seen a growing commitment to the provision of education in prison regimes and its versatility and value in the context of penal treatments has been increasingly recognized. Long before prison regimes were endowed with the wide range of creative activities we now take for granted, education, in association with religious instruction, was seen as an appropriate and useful motivator which had survived the philosophical phases of retribution, redemption, correction, reformation, rehabilitation, and liberalization.

Although there is little or no evidence to support a general contention that education, any more than any other regime activity, may be correlated with a reduction in recidivism, it remains perhaps the most attractive option to prisoners and prison administration alike. It is seen as intrinsically good, right, useful, defensible. It is an activity of universal application. Its acknowledged value does not depend on the practical criteria by which we eventually test those other activities that demand resources or consume the time and energy of the organization. There is a complacent belief that the more education is made available the better; it is impossible to have too much. Unlike food, work, exercise, love, and medication, there is no such thing as a surfeit of the learning experience that is provided by education. In prison the problem is that even though a large proportion of prisoners now has access to and actually enjoys an educational dimension in the training program, there is frequently not the time, in the day or throughout the sentence, to bring that experience to fruition. The attributes of education include the ability to better equip a person to cope with the demands of outside society, the enrichment of personal life, the resistance to institutionalization and boredom which is one of the most pervasive evils of imprisonment, and the elevation of the human personality. Why then, if all this is true, is education in prison still fighting for its place in the queue for space and resources? It is a matter of perspective, policy, and purpose.

The prisons do not exist in the public perception to confer upon prisoners the privilege of the finest educational experience that can be contrived. The prisons are expected to make a constructive contribution to an orderly and secure society. Prisoners are rightly expected to work like everyone else. Except for a relatively few prisoners who can benefit from a full-time educational regime and may be appropriately allocated to it, the bulk of the prison population must receive their education as something over and above the daily routine. But there are two qualifications that modify this simplistic assertion. First, things are changing; work is no longer the universal diet, especially among the young and unskilled from which groups so many prisoners come. Second, education should, as far as possible, be seen not as supplementary to the individual regime but as complementary.

Education does have the attributes referred to above and the challenge of that is to reap that harvest to the individual and community benefit. The optimum range and content of education in prison regimes is now well known and the various elements generally acknowledged.

Perhaps the major avenue of advance in the future will be the mechanics of managing the educational resources to better effect, particularly in an integrated approach to regimes still largely based on work as the major activity. That raises major questions about the organizational base, the institutional status of education, and the machinery needed to plan, provide, and monitor individual regimes throughout the period of imprisonment. Nor may we neglect the need to make adequate provision for the continuation of educational experience after release. For in many areas, particularly with remedial teaching, early regression is a serious problem. It follows that at every level of management there must be a clear commitment to regimes within which education, along with the other major activities, has a defined and assured role and status appropriately buttressed with allocated resources. In England this management objective is being approached through the system of Accountable Regimes which provides also for input from staff of all disciplines so as to underpin the regime with a consultative and flexible apparatus and clear commitment as part of the established style of management.

Conclusion

The broad strategic objectives of prison education are now enshrined in policy and practice. They are the provision of opportunities for further education and raising individual standards of attainment, remedial services to promote literacy and numeracy, the help prison education can give in simple social literacy and personal communication (the lack of which can be a significant ingredient in the causes of delinquency), the cultural dimension in which libraries have such an important part, and the general support that prison education offers in sustaining people through the stress and tedium of a prison experience. Alongside these are the important but usually marginal roles of providing language and cultural support to minority groups, contributions to staff training, the involvement in recreational activities and entertainment, and participation in the management processes.

The issue now is whether the future of education in prisons should lie in the expansion of its existing roles together with an improvement in quality. Or whether there are alternative, novel, and rewarding avenues. At least the time has come for a major reassessment and the basic assertions should now be challenged in the context of contemporary penal philosophy and regimes. For if it is to be more of the same and better, then that reaffirmation must at least rest on a searching and

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courageous reappraisal of the accepted truths. And, unless the reaffirmation is convincing and seen to be fundamentally re-established on firm intellectual and pragmatic ground, the demands for more status and resources will be difficult to justify in present and foreseeable circumstances.

Postscript 1989

Since this paper was written penal experience and trends in contemporary thinking have done nothing to undermine the principal themes embodied in its approach. Indeed, continuing pressures of social or economic origin, in criminal justice systems in particular, and more rigorous disciplines in regard to the utilization of resources, have reinforced them. There is, however, one interesting development worthy of note in that it is an important international manifestation of the moral and intrinsic values that inspired the arguments advanced. That is, the adoption in 1987, by the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe, of a new formulation, together with a philosophical framework, of new minimum rules for the treatment of prisoners (European Prison Rules—Council of Europe: Rec.R(87)3–12 February 1987).

These rules, more comprehensive in character and with new thrusts and more stringent priorities, replaced the Standard Minimum Rules of the Council of Europe (1975), which themselves were textually virtually the same as those of the United Nations Rules. The European Prison Rules (1987) represent a significant development in the concept of international standards and cooperation in prison treatment. Discarding none of the fundamental values of the previous formulation, the new rules have given greater emphasis to the ethos and respect for humane values on which they are based; enhanced priorities for these precepts; and provide for the efficacy of the rules in practice, as well as for positive aspects of treatment and management. The drafting of the rules themselves and the supporting texts (which include an Explanatory Memorandum and a philosophical and historical statement on the evolution of the international rules and their purposes) have taken account of developing practice and penology since the United Nations formulation of 1955. Current problems and attitudes have also been reflected and efforts made to ensure that the new European Prison Rules will meet the demands of the foreseeable future.

This is not the place to enlarge further on these issues but it is appropriate to refer briefly to the enhanced status and scope given to

Education in the new rules. In that part of the new rules (Part IV, Rules 64–89: Treatment Objectives and Regimes) that is directed towards the beneficial use of resources for treatment and training, education is now given a special place. This revision recognizes the significant growth in the roles of prison education in recent years. Thus a whole section, mostly of new rules (77–86), has been devoted to education in prison regimes. A statement of purpose and practice is also embodied in the Explanatory Memorandum which rehearses the philosophical and practical dimensions of the education rules so as to encourage the creative and positive contributions that can be made in this area of treatment.

The new European rules, adopted by all twenty-one member states of the Council of Europe, are likely to have wide influence with prison administrations elsewhere. It is very satisfactory that the proposals for education were accepted and have now found formal expression at the international level.

PART IV

Issues and Programs

CORRECTIONAL EDUCATION IN ACTION

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CORRECTIONAL EDUCATION IN ACTION

Programs are what we're *really* all about: the actual teaching of prisoners within the context or framework of a literacy, vocational, GED, or post-secondary program. Our libraries, research projects, administrative structures and tasks, and the concerns of volunteers are all centred on the delivery of educational services. The papers in this section describe a number of such programs and/or initiatives in correctional education, programs significant in their own right but also programs that our Editorial Board felt had implications for *all* of correctional education.

Sylvia McCollum raises what must be the most controversial issue in correctional education in the 1980s—"Mandatory Literacy for Prisons." Mandatory education has, of course, a long tradition in North America as Ted Hofferth pointed out in his earlier paper. That, however, applied to children and adolescents, not to adults. The new mandatory literacy programs in the US Federal Prison System, as well as similar state programs and initiatives in Canada, apply to adults and thus run into criticism from Morin and Cosman, Knights, and many others. Juxtaposed to these sentiments are the clear successes of the new literacy programs, the data cited by McCollum being impressive in their own right. The federal program described in this paper has led the development of mandatory literacy programs and McCollum notes that GED completions may be the next step in this process.

Many readers, after considering Holly Devor's estimation of the impact of "Teaching Women's Studies to Convicted Sex Offenders," may conclude that *that* course ought to be made mandatory. Devor's account of the course she taught in a British Columbia prison is a personal paper, the story of an adventure, a process, and the workings of a theory. The image of the feminist face-to-face in the classroom with the avowed male predator, the man convicted of a sexual offence, the stress of trying to keep the exercise academic rather than lapse into the familiar therapeutic routines, and the quite dramatic and moving resolution at the end make compelling reading. More importantly, Devor's work highlights the effect that correctional educators in *all* contexts know they may have on students.

The inclusion of an educational component in C.S. Lanier and Glenn Fisher's "The Eastern Fathers' Group" is comparable to Devor's insistence on going "beyond therapy" in dealing with sex offenders. Lanier and Fisher's exciting and innovative program attempts to assist imprisoned fathers in creating and sustaining relationships with their children. With the program's emphasis on the need to normalize the prison, to build connections with the outside world, and to bring that world into the prison itself, the Eastern Fathers' Group is representative of the best of Jepson's and Neale's earlier recommendations in action. The mutual support meetings and counselling of the Fathers' Group, moreover, emphasize the importance of going beyond *just* education in dealing with areas of prisoners' lives, such as parenting, and addressing directly the need for emotional and community support.

William Cleveland describes the evolution of the very successful "California Arts-In-Corrections Program," offering a "how to" analysis that outlines the problems encountered in meshing art, the community, and bureaucracy. This fine arts initiative involves bringing artists into prisons, thus encouraging the development of artistic activities by prisoners. From a small beginning at Vacaville in 1976, the California program now exists in eighteen institutions, offering arts instruction to over 8,000 prisoners and involving over 250 professional artists. Cleveland stresses the crucial role of support in high places and sensitivity to politics, the provision of quality programming, and the need for patience and perseverance.

Michael Collins and John Niemi share this initiative towards bringing the best practices of adult education into the prison setting. "Advancing Adult Basic Education in Prisons" focusses on the use of inmate tutors, and especially the creation of literacy councils within prison education programs, providing readers with a clear sense of how to motivate adults to engage in learning at the ABE level. The authors do not espouse a mandatory policy and are careful to avoid basing literacy programs (or any education program) on behavioural objectives such as lower rates of recidivism. In avoiding these rationales for education, Collins and Niemi insist that the key to inmate *engagement* with education "lies with the participation of inmates in the design and implementation of the educational program itself."

Finally, T.A. Ryan's "A Transitional Education Program for Adult Female Offenders" is a plea for our involvement as correctional educators in that movement the majority of our students must undertake from penal institution to society. After reviewing the general state of education for female offenders and the needs of adult female prisoners, Ryan describes a South Carolina program that has successfully facilitated entry into educational programs during and after release. Using pre-release counselling, support services, placement assistance, and community follow-up, the Educational Support Program is fine example of the transitional activities we in correctional education can foster beyond the confines of our institution-based programs.

Mandatory Literacy for Prisons

Sylvia G. McCollum
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The Federal Prison System in the United States is comprised of over sixty correctional facilities ranging in size from a few hundred inmates to over a thousand. Some, such as penitentiaries, provide maximum confinement, and others, such as correctional institutions and prison camps, provide medium or minimum security.

The population of federal prisons began to rise, in the mid-1970s, from an average daily population of around 23,000 to its current level of in excess of 45,000. Compared to the total prison population in the United States, estimated at over 600,000, the Federal Prison System continues to be relatively small, but a system which, traditionally, has pioneered new programs and new directions, such as its current mandatory literacy program.

Pioneering Mandatory Literacy

When Warren E. Burger was Chief Justice of the United States, he had a continuing interest in prisons and prison education programs. Many of his major speeches included references to the importance of using prison confinement as an opportunity system for positive intervention into the lives of prisoners. On 24 May 1981, speaking before the graduating class of George Washington University Law School, he urged education for all inmates so that, at a minimum, all would be literate and all would have a saleable skill. His coupling of work and education was a welcome reflection of free world conditions and contributed to the establishment of a realistic foundation for literacy programs in federal prisons. Just five days after the Chief Justice's remarks, Norman A. Carlson, then Director of the Bureau of Prisons, appointed a task force to advise him regarding the policy implications of the Chief Justice's speech.

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The task force met on three different occasions, and in a final report on 12 November 1981, made a series of recommendations for future policy directions. Recommendation No. 6 advised the Director to develop a comprehensive policy on mandatory literacy for all federal prisoners who functioned at less than the sixth grade level.

This recommendation was quickly converted into policy, and in May 1982, one year after Chief Justice Burger's speech, and within six months after the special task force's report, the Bureau of Prisons established its first mandatory adult basic education policy. The primary ingredients of this policy were as follows:

1. All inmates who functioned at less than the sixth grade level, as measured by the Reading, Mathematics and English subtests of the Intermediate Battery II of the Stanford Achievement Test (SAT), were required to enroll in an adult basic literacy (ABE) program for ninety days.

2. Inmates could not be promoted to jobs above the lowest labour grade, either in Federal Prison Industries (UNICOR), or on institution performance pay jobs, until they met the sixth grade ABE standard.

3. Each institution was required to develop and maintain a "needs list" to reflect ABE test scores, the date of each inmate's enrollment in the ABE program, monthly progress reports, and either the completion date or the date that the inmate terminated involvement in the program. Thirty day reviews and counselling sessions were also required and had to be reflected in the "needs list."

4. Each institution was also required to establish an appropriate system of incentives and awards for recognition of satisfactory progress and completion of an ABE program.

Inmates already in jobs above entry level on the date the policy was established were exempt from the mandatory ABE standard, but were to be encouraged to meet the sixth grade requirement. Additional exemptions from mandatory enrollment were provided for pre-trial inmates, study and observation cases, and sentenced aliens with deportation detainers. Individual wardens could exempt other inmates for *documented* "good cause." Other significant provisions related to prime-time scheduling of ABE classes, deduction of furloughs and other absences from class from the mandatory ninety day enrollment period, and disciplinary action against inmates who refused to enroll in, or to complete, the mandatory ninety day ABE period.

Program Impact

The manner in which both staff and inmates accepted the mandatory literacy program came as a surprise to many who had serious apprehensions about any mandatory education program. No more than half-a-dozen letters came to the Director of the Bureau of Prisons to challenge the action and to raise questions about the legitimacy of the mandatory program concept. When staff prepared responses to those letters, they were careful to point out the spelling and grammatical errors in each, and to suggest enrollment by the writers in the literacy program as quickly as possible.

There were also some questions about whether or not inmates, who had verified high school diplomas and college degrees prior to incarceration, should be required to take the SAT. Early on, the decision was made to test all new admissions, since there was a good deal of evidence that many people with documented diplomas and degrees functioned below the sixth grade level on one or more of the SAT subtests. Additionally, it was frequently difficult to determine whether or not claimed educational achievements were valid, and it was simpler and fairer to all concerned, to test all new admissions and establish literacy levels at that time.

A few letters were received from inmates who thought they were too old to learn enough to meet the new standards. Others had records of enrollment in past literacy programs and had failed only one or two of the SAT subtests, and requested exemption. Each was handled on an individual basis. Most often inmates were encouraged to persist until they met the applicable standards, but in some cases work promotions were allowed, if the inmates continued in the ABE program and made satisfactory progress.

The impact of the new policy on the number of ABE enrollments and completions was immediate and substantial. The following few statistics provide an overview of what happened following the establishment of the mandatory literacy requirement in May 1982. Program completions, even allowing for large population increases, shot upward. For example, the average daily inmate population in the Bureau increased 54% between 1981 and 1986, compared with an increase of over 327% in ABE course completions. The compulsory nature of the program and its prerequisite for work promotion accounted, we believe, for these singular accomplishments.

ADULT BASIC EDUCATION PROGRAM 1981–86

FISCAL YEAR	NEW ENROLLMENTS	COMPLETIONS	BOP AVERAGE DAILY POP.	INCREASE OVER PREVIOUS YEAR	
				COMPL	POP
1981	2,653	1,441	24,933		
1982	3,785	1,983	27,730	37.6%	11.2%
1983	6,004	3,774	29,718	90.3	7.2
1984	6,896	4,909	30,723	30.1	3.4
1985	8,048	5,221	33,263	6.4	8.3
1986	9,000 est.	6,161	38,402	18.0	14.2
1981–86 INCREASE					
	6,347	4,720	13,469	327.6%	54.0%

NOTE

The Bureau of Prisons established a new Education Data System in fiscal Year 1987. Data, under the new system, for fiscal Years 1987 and 1988 are not yet available.

SOURCE

Bureau of Prisons internal data systems: Inmate Information System, Inmate Program Reporting System, and Education Data System.

Policy Revision

Constant monitoring was an important characteristic of the Bureau's literacy effort. There was no desire or need to make the program burdensome or unreasonable. Additionally, there was consensus that corrective actions should be initiated as soon as possible, when problems surfaced. As a result, in October 1983, the Bureau's mandatory literacy policy was amended to require each institution to have either a qualified reading specialist or a special education instructor on its education staff. This amendment was considered essential to the ultimate success of the program since many students needed specialized assistance to meet the ABE requirement, and the average classroom teacher did not always have the necessary skills.

The program continued in place for approximately three successful years when, after careful review, it was decided to expand the limits of the mandatory ABE concept. It became apparent that the sixth grade level was not high enough to meet the rising expectations of employers and was below comparable community standards. Accordingly, in July 1985, a one-year pilot was initiated in the Bureau's Northeast region to test the establishment of the eighth grade as the mandatory literacy standard. The new, higher level was accepted without major dislocations, and, on 1 July 1986, the eighth grade standard became nationwide.

In November 1986, another change ended an unintended preferential treatment for pre-trial, study and observation inmates, and sentenced aliens with deportation detainers. Under the original policy, these inmates were exempted from mandatory literacy requirements and could be promoted above entry-level jobs without meeting literacy standards. Under amended policy, they continued to be exempted from the mandatory literacy requirement, but they couldn't be promoted to advanced work grades unless they achieved the 8.0 academic grade level.

Still another major change became effective 1 July 1988, when the Bureau replaced the Stanford Achievement Test, the standard measure of educational achievement, with the Adult Basic Level Examination (ABLE). The Bureau had been using the SAT for over twenty years even though that test had originally been normed on a youthful population. Education staff had not found a more satisfactory education achievement test until the revised ABLE became available. It was normed on an adult population and, after an experimental period, was found to be an appropriate replacement for the SAT.

The Current Scene

The ease with which the mandatory literacy program was established and maintained in the Federal Prison System has been a source of great satisfaction to all involved. Many will admit that they were pleasantly surprised. Much more resistance was anticipated, not only from inmates, but also from staff, who had pressing needs for available inmate time. Today, there is consensus that a literate worker, in most cases, is a better worker, and the literacy program is almost universally supported by line staff as well as by correctional managers.

Some recent problems relate to non-English speaking inmates and Prison Industries' piece rate workers. Temporary solutions have been worked out, pending additional experience. Exceptions made by Wardens have been few and far between and have been well documented. These generally relate to learning and physically disabled inmates, who are frequently not exempted from the enrollment requirement, but are given longer periods of time to complete and whose promotions are not held up as long as satisfactory progress is made in the course. Satisfactory progress is usually defined by the Education Supervisor at the institution.

The Economic Connection and Technology

On reflection, two key factors have contributed to the success of the mandatory literacy program in the Federal Prison System: the connection between literacy achievement and wages and promotions; and the availability of computer-assisted instruction. The entry-level pay grade in Federal Prison Industries is 44 cents an hour, and the third, second, and top grade wage rates are 66 cents, 88 cents, and $1.10 per hour, respectively. Institution performance pay jobs range from 11 cents at the entry level to 38 cents per hour for the top grade. These hourly wage differences have been significant enough to motivate inmates to enroll and meet the literacy standards as quickly as possible. Recognition of the value of achieving literacy in order to be eligible for the higher paid jobs was immediate and widespread. This reflection of the realities in the outside job markets was understood and accepted by all involved.

The timing of the Bureau's mandatory literacy program came, almost simultaneously, with the introduction of computer-assisted instruction in many federal prisons. The drill and practice functions of the computers made it possible for existing education staff to manage the enlarged course enrollments and still provide the one-on-one teacher contact, where needed. In excess of 600 personal computers and twenty-six integrated computer systems are in use in education departments throughout the system and they have been critical to the success of the literacy program.

But the bottom line, as always in education, are the classroom teachers and education managers. The success of the literacy program in the Federal Prison System is one of their crowning achievements, and we salute them.

The Future

Currently, eight states have some form of mandatory literacy program. Three—Ohio, Maryland, and Arkansas—use a fourth grade literacy standard; Texas, the fifth grade; Illinois, Montana, and Michigan, the sixth grade; and Colorado, the eighth grade. A few other states have what appear to be mandatory literacy requirements under certain conditions in particular correctional institutions. The experiences of these states, as well as the Federal Prison System, suggest that the time to move forward in this important arena is now.

The United Nations has established 1990 as International Literacy Year. Wouldn't it be a remarkable accomplishment if a majority of state correctional systems undertook mandatory literacy programs by that year?

The positive experience with the mandatory literacy program has encouraged the Bureau of Prisons to give serious thought to the expansion of compulsory education programs in the future. A one-year pilot is in progress in the Bureau's Southeast region to field test the requirement of a high school diploma, or GED, for promotions to top rated industry and institution jobs. This is proving successful, and we anticipate the establishment of this requirement, nationwide, sometime in 1989. The mandatory GED program is taking place simultaneously with an exploding federal prison population. The need to provide programs for the positive use of inmate time has never been greater. Instead of competing for inmate time, education programs are increasingly viewed as necessary to meet increases in available inmate time.

Mandatory programming is a viable concept in correctional programming, particularly in correctional education. Education requirements for many free world jobs continue to escalate while the available labour force for these jobs is declining, especially at the entry level. As a result, post-release job opportunities for educated ex-offenders may be at their best in the near future, despite their prison records. These factors make mandatory prison education programs more important than ever. Correctional administrators should take advantage of this significant and timely option.

Recommended Reading

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Ryan, T.A., and Joseph Clifton Woodard, Jr. 1987. *Correctional Education: A State of the Art.* Washington, D.C.: National Institute of Corrections, US Department of Justice.

US Bureau of Prisons, Policy Statement 5350.17. 1988. *Adult Basic Education.*

US Department of Labor and US Department of Education. 1988. *The Bottom Line: Basic Skills in the Workplace.* Washington, D.C.

Teaching Women's Studies to Convicted Sex Offenders

Holly Devor, Simon Fraser University

Simon Fraser University, on contract with the Correctional Services of Canada, offers university credit courses in four federal penal institutions in British Columbia. This program is unique in that regular university courses are taught by university faculty within the confines of the prisons. Inmates involved in this program are enrolled at Simon Fraser University, usually as special entry students. They may complete their BA degrees while incarcerated or may continue their studies, with no change of student status, if they are released from prison before graduation. Most courses offered are drawn from a humanities program and may be combined with correspondence courses to complete degree requirements over a period of several years.

In the summer of 1987 I was hired to teach an introductory women's studies course in Mountain Institution, a medium-security prison. Mountain has the dubious distinction of housing those inmates in the British Columbia penal system who require protective custody because they are considered to be in danger of being harmed by other inmates. Sex offenders constitute the largest portion of inmates requiring such protective custody. Guards and inmates currently estimate the sex offender population at Mountain to be upwards of ninety percent of the inmates incarcerated there. Other inmates who require protective custody include informers and those inmates no longer young enough to defend themselves against exploitation and aggression at the hands of their prisonmates.

When I first offered "Perspectives on Women: An Introduction to Women's Studies" in a prison setting, it was at Matsqui Institution in the first trimester of 1986. That marked the first time this course had ever been taught in any of the prisons. When I offered it again in the summer trimester of 1987, it was the first time the course had been offered to a class of inmate students who were predominantly convicted sex of-

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fenders. A similar version of the course has been running more or less continually for ten years on campus, with myself acting as teaching assistant during five of those ten years. It had never before drawn more than four male students in a class. I had also acted as tutor for the same course when it was first offered by correspondence in late 1984. More men enrolled in the correspondence course but they still constituted a small minority of the students even under those conditions. As a result, the course had, before 1986, always been taught from a perspective which assumed female students. Consequently, when first presented with the prospect of all male students, I had to alter the course somewhat to suit that perspective. I then made further alterations to the course in 1987 to reflect the more restricted composition of the students at Mountain Institution and the unfortunate requirement that the course be presented in only seven intensive weeks.

It was understandably with some trepidation that I undertook the teaching assignment at Mountain. Several people, familiar with the population there, attempted to comfort me with the information that the prisoners at Mountain were polite, well-mannered, well-behaved, well-educated, and almost middle class by comparison to the inmates at Matsqui Institution. I took little solace in these reassurances. My reasoning was twofold: I assumed that their manners would only serve to mask their negative attitudes towards women behind a facade of false chivalry; and I presumed that their lives had been shattered by their convictions for crimes against women and children, and that this experience would have been likely to aggravate pre-existing hostilities towards women. I assumed that the fact of their having been officially labelled as sex offenders would make them even more defensive and sensitive to any issues relating to sexuality, and/or women, and/or power relations between the sexes.

The first dilemma arose for me from the fact that these same issues formed the core of my course. I was faced with the decision of choosing to offer a highly rarified and academic course which avoided issues of power and sexuality, or confronting these issues head on. The first choice would allow me to teach a course which was easy on both myself and the students. The second option would require a great deal of us all. Based on the remarkable success I had achieved using a direct approach with the inmate students at Matsqui the year before, I chose to go the more difficult route this time as well (Devor 1988). I also chose that path because I wanted to take advantage of this unique opportunity to talk directly, and frankly, to the perpetrators of sexual crimes against women and children. Based on my experience at Matsqui Institution I felt that there was some slim possibility that I might actually be able to reach far enough into the hearts and minds of a few of these men that some future women or children might be saved from abuse at their hands.

Method

Each day, at the end of class time, I went directly to the nearest public park. There, on the shores of a huge lake surrounded by snow-capped mountains, I spent an hour or two writing about what had transpired in class that day. I made notes about what I had observed, what conclusions I was drawing, my speculations, my plans for future classes, and anything else which seemed relevant. I made sure that I wrote directly after class to ensure that my notes were based on fresh recollections. Those notes served three purposes. Firstly, the writing of them helped me to cleanse myself of some of the more unpleasant, or simply tenacious, experiences of each day's class. Secondly, the writing helped me to clarify for myself both what was happening and what I wanted to see happen in subsequent classes. Thirdly, those notes served as the basis for this paper.

The Students

The initial enrollment of thirty students at Mountain in 1987 constituted close to two-thirds of the total university enrollment there that trimester, and, as such, represented an even higher level of student interest than there had been at Matsqui the year before. As is normal at any institution of learning, class size dwindled somewhat by the final drop date, when it became necessary for students to pay their fees if they were to continue to attend the class. A total of twenty students completed the course. Both enrollment and attendance remained high throughout the course, the significance of which must be seen in light of the fact that many of these students are unconcerned with formal university requirements and therefore enroll in these courses largely for their own edification. If a course fails to retain their interest, or offends their sensibilities, they may abandon their studies and do their time in another part of the institution. To my knowledge the women's studies students gained no extra privileges for attending my course.[1] Therefore, the relatively low dropout rate in these women's studies courses is a fairly strong indicator of their popularity with the students in the institutions.

The students in the class at Mountain tended to be somewhat older than those at Matsqui the year before. The age distribution may perhaps be a reflection of the fact that older inmates, being more vulnerable to exploitation by their peers, require protective custody in larger numbers, or it perhaps may be a characteristic of sex offender conviction patterns.[2] The class, educational, ethnic, and racial backgrounds of the students at Mountain also differed from those at Matsqui. The students at Mountain tended to have more solid educational backgrounds[3] and more stable work histories than those at Matsqui. There were fewer career criminals, fewer men who had lived their lives on the fringes of legitimate society, and they were more uniformly of white anglo-saxon protestant backgrounds than had been the case at Matsqui.[4] These factors did seem to contribute to their being a more well-mannered group than the inmate students at Matsqui had been. I do believe, though, that their identities as sex offenders also contributed to their apparent docility. These men were aware of the fact that they faced brutality, and possibly death, at the hands of their fellow prisoners if they were to be released into a general prison population. They were also painfully aware of the contempt in which they are held by most members of society. I suspect that these factors worked in tandem with a pre-existing low self-esteem to incline convicted sex offenders towards a non-aggressive self-presentation in an attempt to neutralize some of the stigma attached to their status. As the course progressed and they became more engaged with me and the course materials, I would guess that their desire to appear to be no longer dangerous to women and children increased and also served as a motivating factor in their generally polite and well-mannered behaviour.

The Course

The 1987 course was structured as a lecture/seminar complemented by films and video tapes. (See Appendix A for the course description and outline.) Class time of five hours each week was supplemented by two hours for informal discussion and consultation every week, for a total of seven hours of contact each week. The reading material for the course consisted almost entirely of reprints gathered from diverse sources by myself and previous instructors. I altered the curriculum to reflect both my differences in philosophy from those instructors and my perceptions of the needs of an entirely male student group.

My course differed from the ones normally given on campus in that it was organized to be more emotionally demanding and to give more attention to a feminist perspective on masculinity. To this end, wherever possible I chose reading materials and course content in such a way as to encourage the emotional involvement of the students. In this way, I directed their study of the social, psychological, and economic aspects of women's lives by bringing facts and figures alive through the use of materials containing evocative personal testimonials. The only differences between the 1986 and 1987 versions of the course were the condensations and minor omissions that I was forced to make due to the length of the course having been shortened by about one-third. I also made some minor improvements to the list of reading assignments.

"Perspectives on Women: An Introduction to Women's Studies," as I taught it at Mountain, was comprised of six main sections. The main body of the course began with an exploration of the biological bases of sex and gender differences and similarities. This was followed by a brief look at evolutionary theories and the possible lessons to be gained from the study of technologically primitive societies. The next section covered psychological theories and descriptive materials concerning the development of gender during early childhood, youth, and adolescence, including a discussion of the physical and sexual abuse of children. The third section looked at the economic position of women, beginning with pre-industrial societies and ending with a look at the present status of women in the Canadian economy and the effects of unionization on women's work. This was followed by a discussion of the institution of marriage, during which economic, emotional, and psychological aspects of marriage for both men and women were examined. Sub-topics in the marriage unit included housework, sexual relations, and wife battering. The fifth section began with a look at the ways that women are portrayed in the arts, advertising, and media. This led into a discussion of the social role of pornography, which was followed by class time devoted to the question of why men rape. The final class was spent in study of Margaret Atwood's novel *The Handmaid's Tale* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1985).

Many students began this class by expressing confusion and dismay about the changing roles of women and the demands that those changes placed on men. They seemed disgruntled by those changes and expressed some hostility towards feminists whom they identified as the force behind changing gender roles and their own unhappy circumstances as convicted sex offenders.[5] I therefore made it a priority that they understood that feminist propositions offered them both increased adaptability in a changing world and increased freedom from the restrictions of their own gender roles. In doing so I found it helpful to call on similarities between the life experiences of the students and the experiences of women. I therefore repeatedly made comparisons between sex/gender prejudices and class, racial, and ethnic discriminations. I also found it useful to call on their experiences within the prison system as powerless and disenfranchised people, and the experiences common to many of them as physically and sexually abused children. I attempted to convey to them the idea that acceptance of the premises of the course would not forever lock them into a losing and blame-filled situation.

I found it necessary to be able to communicate with the students through the culture of men, from the perspective of women. This required that I be able to couch the messages of the course in terms that would be sufficiently familiar to the students to enable them to grasp the ideas easily, without obscuring the feminist nature of the material. The composition of the group, as both inmates and men, meant that they functioned within a masculine social order which placed a high value on concealment of emotions, aggressive sexuality, toughness, and a disregard for authority and middle-class social values.[6] Thus, I had to find ways to evoke emotion and empathy in the students without myself appearing to be weak or emotionally involved.

Throughout the course I attempted to build within the students a sense of empathy with the experiences of women. I attempted to do this by taking what amounted to a social learning perspective combined with a large dose of rational calculus. I tried to convey to them that girl (boy) children and women (men) are taught that they must behave in certain ways if they are to be able to think of themselves as normal females (males). I argued that the power of these socializing factors is so pervasive that few people are even aware of their action. I further suggested that the effects of socialization are too strong for most people to counteract completely even if they do become aware that there are reasons for them to resist what they have been taught. I then asked them to consider their own socialization process and to try to imagine what choices they would make if they had been socialized to think and feel and desire as women do. I wanted them to understand that they had made what seemed to them to be rational choices from within the framework of their masculine socialization, and that women do the same thing from within a differently socialized world view. I tried to convey to them that we all make the best choices that we can see for ourselves while our choices are limited by the circumstances and socialization of our gender, race, class, ethnicity, etc.; that our present system disables women more than it does men but that it affects all of us perniciously; and that feminism's goal is to increase freedoms, choices, and opportunities for all people.[7]

My challenge was to be able to speak to their worldview while remaining true to my feminist vision. This meant that there were many incidents where the students presented me with a reality from a masculine point of view which I found unsettling. I found repeatedly that the pat answers that were easy to use among groups of women, or even among more "enlightened" men, seemed hollow and evasive in the context of this prison classroom. This was especially true during our many discussions concerning sexuality. One particularly dramatic example came during our discussion of rape. A standard feminist line on this subject is an unequivocal, "No means no." I found that I could not look these men in the eye and deny that women sometimes do start out saying no and end up later acquiescing to male demands for sex. I was forced to deal with both women's ambivalence towards the sexual advances of men and the realities of the coercive powers of men. I was able to gain their trust by being willing to validate their own feelings of being confused by the behaviour of women, and then use that trust to force them to recognize that what they would like to think of as seduction is more often submission to powerful psychological coercion. I thus walked a difficult line between "one of the boys," and a radical feminist attitude towards the many discussions which alluded to sex. I was concerned that the classroom should not become infused with sexual tensions, and I assumed that the students would cease to respect my position of authority if they came to see me as sexually engaged or available for conquest. I found that the best approach was to appear to be extremely sexually knowledgeable and at the same time project no sexuality of my own. This necessitated my being able to take a matter-of-fact, almost clinical, attitude toward subjects which I would have normally found either intensely personal, or disturbing, or both.

In general, I made every effort to not become personally offended or morally outraged by anything that the students said. I made it my business to find the kernel of truth (or at least their truth) in each comment that they made and use it as a connecting point from which I might lead them to the conclusions that I considered the most correct. This method was designed to allow each student to find new ways of perceiving his own reality without feeling forced to deny his own experience. I tried to open them up to the view that they had been trained, as men, to view the world selectively in accordance with their gender interests, and that women had also been trained to view it selectively but differently. My goal was to convince them that neither version of reality was complete nor accurate without a thorough consideration of the other. In order to do this, I had to accept and validate more of their masculine vision than I would have otherwise been inclined to, and to temper my own women-sided tendencies to unrealistically glorify the ways of women.

I wanted my students to have the feeling that they could ask me anything that was even vaguely relevant to the course. (And ask they did!) I wanted them never to feel stupid for not knowing something and never to hesitate to ask something for that reason. I wanted them to feel that even if what they had to say was incorrect, the right thing to do was to ask. I also wanted the students to feel that the course was not supposed to be therapy. I endeavoured to present the material, and myself, as removed from their personal trauma and turmoil. At the same time I recognized that the course would affect many of them in a very personal way. I felt that the best approach was to remain uninvolved in the unfolding of the effects of the course in each individual. Nonetheless, I made it my business to be aware of the effects that my presentations were having on the men, and I worked to maximize those effects wherever possible.

A Progressive Account of What Happened

I began the course with a short general lecture addressing the question of why there is a need for women's studies courses at all. This engendered far more discussion that I had anticipated based on the 1986 version of this course. It seemed to me that the sex offender group had more pent-up commentary to make on feminists than any previous group of students that I had encountered. My first day with the initial group of approximately thirty students left me with the sensation of being a target for a steady barrage of questions, comments, and grievances about feminists which these men had been harbouring, unexpressed, for some time. Many of their comments had a strong tinge of resentment towards women: many comments reflected frustration with the fact that women, as a group and as individuals, were inconsistent in their demands and expectations of men; several complained that women had too many privileges as it was; others suspected that all feminists were "man-hating dykes." Unlike the group at Matsqui the previous year, the men at Mountain were less aggressive and more indirect in their complaints against women. Some clearly displayed anger, others seemed to see themselves as innocently victimized by women. As I came to know these men better, most failed to effectively maintain the victimized stance for very long and slipped into either anger or simple confusion.

I allowed a limitless number of digressions and interruptions during the first class as I wanted to establish an open atmosphere in the classroom. I wanted the students to realize that they could express their opinions and feelings in my classroom without getting quashed for not agreeing with my feminist perspective. I wanted to make it clear to them that I was a feminist teacher who was willing to listen as well as to lecture, and that I would take them as they came. In other words, I wanted to establish right from the beginning that they need not be afraid to display their ignorance and that I was willing to teach from my level to theirs, if they would show me where their level was.

I also tried, during the first class, to establish some sense of mutual respect and a cooperative atmosphere by asking for a round of introductions and suggestions for direction in the course. I started the round off by talking about myself. I then asked each student to say something about his personal history in terms of his educational and vocational background, his family and place of origin, important relationships with women, and expectations of the course. I was thus able to learn something about who my audience was to be, the students learned something about me, and we developed an incipient sense of group cohesion as a result of our mutual self-disclosures.

In the next class period I took a more controlling stance. I explained to them that it was necessary for me to limit discussion and commentary to the content at hand if we were to be able to proceed through the course materials at a reasonable pace, given the limited time available to us. I then lectured on the biological and evolutionary bases of gender differences and similarities. I started the course in this way because I felt that it was necessary to lay to rest, as quickly as possible, inflated claims about the "naturalness" of our social structures. Beginning the course in this way also served to lend authority to my store of knowledge by taking advantage of the respect that most people afford to the hard sciences and anything that relates to medical matters.

This was followed by a brief introduction to some forms of social organization used in other cultures. I used cross-cultural materials which introduced the concept of separate women's and men's cultures embedded within what can appear, on first look, to be sexually integrated societies. I further alerted them to the fact that both women and men think that their version of social organization is the sensible one and that that of the other gender is foolish and misguided (Reiter 1975). This material seemed to be unprotected by the impermeable aura of "science" and as a result the more argumentative students in the class again found their voices and attempted to discredit my presentation as feminist propaganda. I found that in some instances I could argue away their complaints and that in others I had to resort to pointing out that there are always differing opinions in the academic world and that I was engaged in presenting those which I believed to be the best reflections of the truth as well as we may know it at this time. This admission of bias was reasonably effective in quelling argument.

I then followed an approximately life cycle exploration of the experiences of women (and sometimes men) in Anglo-American society, focussing on the Canadian experience. I began with a unit devoted to childhood socialization. I included in this section more material on the socialization of male children than would be usual in a women's studies class, with its normal complement of mostly female students, and only one or two males. In particular, I carefully included an entire lecture on the physical abuse of children, knowing that many of my students came from homes in which they had been chronically physically abused.

The material on socialization and physical abuse of children seemed to be very absorbing for most students. They seemed to be fascinated by my explanation of their own socialization experiences and curious about how women got to be the way we are. When I spoke about the physical abuse of children their attention became very intensely focussed. This class period marked the first plateau in our developing relationship. Prior to that lecture and its discussion, there was a nearly constant stream of ignorant and quarrelsome commentary from the students. There was a noticeable decrease in such argumentativeness after the class on the physical abuse of children. My conclusion, after having seen the same thing at Matsqui the year before, is that this discussion fostered in them an incipient awareness that feminism understands and cares about their pain too. This class seemed to touch many of them deeply.

I also found that my own attitudes towards teaching these students started to change after the class on child abuse. Up until that point I had been feeling a strong resentment towards my students as sex offenders. I found it difficult to see them as individuals rather than as sex offenders. Thus, I found myself not wanting to expend as much energy to my students as I normally do in a classroom, and feeling angry that I had agreed to teach them at all. As I watched the silent and lonely pain in their eyes, and listened to their stories about the abuse they had experienced in their own families, I began to soften a bit towards them. I began to be able to see them as individual people with lives before and after their offences. As they began to trust me more, I also began to feel more willing to expend energy to teach them. At that point I started to think that they might be teachable after all.[8]

It was during this class that the students first started to ask what appeared to me to be sincere questions about feminism. They wanted to know what feminism was going to do about the mess that society is in. I had found an issue that feminism was concerned with that also concerned them and they wanted to know what feminism had to offer. They listened very intently as I explained that feminism's goals were not about turning the present inequality on its head, nor were they about making women the same as men. I tried to explain to them that, although men have a far better deal than women in our present society, men too are denied their full potential in the present state of affairs. I took the opportunity to talk about the severe emotional limitations of masculinity, the profound loneliness, and the burdens of the provider role. I then connected the failures of masculinity to provide them with full human options with feminism's goals for changing both men and women. The looks on their faces and the commentary in class, and after class, made it clear to me that they had liked what they had heard. Many of them took some important first steps towards feminism that day.

I followed that class immediately with a discussion of the sexual abuse of children. I entered class that day with some nervousness. I was going to tell the abusers about the reasons for and the results of their abusive behaviour. I was concerned that my analysis would be too academic, fail to hit the mark, and run up against severe resistance. I was not disappointed. Not surprisingly, they resisted this discussion. Students complained that we were spending too much time on the sexual abuse of children, when we were spending less than we had on the physical abuse of children. One student tried to deflect my attention from the issue by suggesting that it had no relevance to women's studies. When that tactic failed he resorted to arguing that "Women sexually abuse children too" and until I could give that topic equal time I should desist. I countered their protests and doggedly persisted despite a somewhat sinking feeling. Fortunately, there were also some few students who came to my defence. They helped by responding to some of the more negative students, saying that just because both women and men do something doesn't mean that it's acceptable behaviour or that it need not be criticized in a women's studies class.

The real reward for my persistence came after class when two different delegations from non-academic sex offenders' self-education groups came to me and asked me if I could come back another time to talk to the rest of their groups. One delegation went so far as to ask me to come to their group and give a five- or six-week abbreviated version of the course they were taking. They told me that they felt that my presentation on the issue had been one of the better ones that they had heard and that they felt that the other sex offenders in their groups would benefit from hearing the point of view that I had presented. It would seem that my doggedness had not deteriorated into dogmatism.

The next two classes were devoted to the study of the economic status of women. I began with a brief historical introduction to the topic, which I then followed with a short overview of statistics and trends describing women's current economic position in Canadian society. Having done that, I presented them with some prominent theories which claim to explain the reasons for women's generally disadvantaged economic status, and looked at some of the ways in which unionization can benefit workers.

During the discussion of unionization, one student requested a digression onto the topic of sexual harassment. This allowed us to explore their typically masculine questions about why women dress the way they do if they don't want sexual attention from men and what's so bad about that kind of attention anyway. This gave me an opportunity to reinforce the socialization materials about women's gender identity and femininity. This was another discussion which seemed to hold their attention very closely. I tried to make them understand that society expects women to dress and act in ways which define them as female and attractive. I introduced the proposition that women do not necessarily dress and behave they way they do to make themselves sexually provocative but rather to conform to the current standards of feminine beauty. I argued that to the degree that they fail to do so they lose femininity in their own eyes, and that if they fail to do so entirely they run the risk of undermining their very gender identities as females (Devor 1987; 1989). I then pointed out that women suffer from a steady stream of unwanted attentions from men, and I tried to call up in them some empathy for the feelings of harassment which develop from having one's attention repeatedly demanded by others. I made comparisons to the standards for masculine attractiveness and pointed out the privacy that men enjoy when navigating through the public sphere. Clearly, this was a topic which they had pondered before but had been unable to satisfactorily answer for themselves. My replies seemed to provide some answers, at least for the moment.

By the end of the economics section we had reached another plateau. The serious hecklers had either dropped out or decided to be more cooperative. The students seemed to have come to trust me enough to ask sincerely some of the questions that had been troubling them about relations between men and women. More men were staying after class to talk with me in smaller groups and to make more intimate disclosures about their crimes and their relationships with women. I found that I was moving further away from my generalized anger towards them as sex offenders and coming to feel more sympathy towards them as people trying to understand. As more and more men said to me that they were enjoying the class, or learning a lot, or just getting twinges in their stomachs from things that were happening in class; as they started to act like they really wanted to be there, learning there, we began to coalesce into a group working together. We began to feel like a team.

There were several incidents of teamwork during the next few sessions in which we studied the meaning of marriage in the lives of women and men, housework and child care, and wife abuse. One such incident arose when one of the better students raised his hand and said that women only do so much housework because of their own expectations. It seemed to me, and to several other students, that he was condemning women for their conformity to gender role expectations. I was pleased to be able to let some of the other students respond to his comment. One man pointed out that he pressured his wife to do a lot of housework when he had been married, and I pointed out that many such demands are backed by emotional or physical abuse. Another student asked us to consider the woman who is a full-time housewife. He argued that, in such cases, housework becomes one of the few accomplishments that such a woman can claim with pride and hence she will be highly motivated to do an exemplary job of it. As it turned out, the original commenter had been misunderstood and had meant only that women's housework standards are socially determined and often artificially elevated.

Wife battering and abuse was the next topic, which this group of men actively resisted discussing. This topic seemed to bring out more of their hostility towards women than had any of the previous ones. They seemed to feel attacked by much of what came up in my lecture and the film about a transition house that I used to supplement the lecture.[9] Even one of the most astute students resorted to implying the women's movement was a "bunch of man-hating dykes." Another student asked what the women in the film had done to the men who had beaten them, and a third started talking about women who beat men and abusive lesbian relationships. I found it difficult to remain calm in the face of the undisguised hatred of women that I was being exposed to. I was relieved to find that the class time had expired before things had deteriorated entirely.

I resolved that I would have to deal with the implications of their comments during the next class. I began by asking them if they felt that there were any circumstances under which a man was justified in severely beating a woman. I made it a point to be clear that I was not talking about using force to restrain a woman who was physically attacking a man but rather about the kind of violence which results in severe injuries. Put to them that way, no man could justify such behaviour. What they could do was offer reasons for a man to become violent with his mate. This prompted me to ask them a further question. It occurred to me that I had tried to answer for them the often asked question "Why do women stay?" but I hadn't addressed the question of "Why do men stay?" I used this as an opportunity for me to learn from them, and as a pedagogical tool to engage their participation in the discussion of wife abuse. I asked them why they thought men stayed in relationships where they were so unhappy with the women they were involved with that they felt moved to chronic and sustained violence towards them.

The answers that I received showed me that they had been thinking and absorbing the messages of women's studies. More importantly, in the process of having to answer that question, they were forced to confront the fact that the men in those situations also have choices. One man talked about the fact that men who batter are at least able to vent some of their frustrations on their wives. Two other students talked about religious training and sanctity of the marriage vow. Another student perceptively talked about batterers feeling out of control in their lives, probably in more areas than the home. He suggested that if such men were to walk out on their marriages it would be tantamount to admitting that their whole lives were out of control. Staying in such relationships allows batterers to retain some sense of control in their lives, and to avoid the stigma of a "failed marriage" while retaining the respectability of being "married men." As a result of this discussion, they had to recognize that the men stay because they choose to stay and that they get rewards from such situations. The men found that they were no longer able to hide behind a stance of innocent victimization at the hands of shrewish women. They had to own their responsibility for their actions and their exploitation of women's vulnerability.

The last major unit in the course covered the difficult topics of pornography and rape. This section of the course is always disturbing to many of the women who take introductory women's studies, and had also proven to be disturbing to the male inmate students who took the course the previous year. The earlier group of men had been drawn by this material to the realization that women often have good reason to fear and distrust men. When I began teaching this section, on the same day that I concluded our discussion of wife battering, I fully expected the men to fight me on these issues as well.

I introduced pornography as one example of the images of women used in advertising, the fine arts, and the media. I avoided entirely the question of the censorship of pornography and instead focussed on pornography as one means of educating the public to view women as sexualized objects. I placed modern pornography as an outgrowth of Renaissance traditions in oil painting but emphasized its special position as an exceptionally potent (and possibly the only) form of sex education for most men and many women.

I built my discussion on the premise that our sexuality is socially constructed in much the same way as other aspects of our personalities and our desires. In doing so, I relied heavily on one of their reading assignments which categorized masculine sexuality as being socialized into a pattern of objectification, fixation, and conquest (Litewka 1987). One student took up this point and made the connection that masculine socialization in general could well be characterized by these same three concepts, and that masculine sexuality was only a logical extension of everyday masculine socialization. He further connected these ideas to the competition and aggression that men feel toward each other and also their propensity to objectify, fixate, and conquer one another in their competitive zeal.

I was heartened by the perspicacity of this student and the support that his comment garnered from other students. I used his insights as a jumping-off point for a digression into psychological theory about masculinity being rooted in separation and denial. As they seemed interested in this, I went on to discuss, in terms of everyday human behaviours, how our socialization process trains little boys to sustain and cleave to the pain of separation stoically and from a very early age. Once again I had hit a nerve. Their attention was rapt, their eyes showed pain, and their faces softened. We had come to the end of the official class time but they made no indication of wanting to end our session and leave. So I pointed out the time and said that I was willing to stay longer if people wanted to stay and talk more informally. A few men left, but most of them stayed on for another half hour.

The discussion really opened up then and it became clear to me that these men had been giving the tenets of feminism some heartfelt thought. They were engaged in trying to figure out if it really was a feasible proposition. One student brought up the connection between the needs of capitalism and the training of men to ruthlessness and competition. He then wanted to know what feminists were doing to prevent women from becoming as bad as men when they entered into the capitalist workplace alongside men and into organizations constituted in the image of capitalist men. The same student also expressed concern about the fact that women seemed to be making important changes in their lives while most men were either standing still, or in the way of women. He wanted to know what feminists were going to do about that. Finally, he wanted to know how men who were changing were supposed to deal with the intense loneliness, isolation, alienation, and resistance they felt from other men, and from many women as well. I replied with honesty that there were no easy answers. The dangers were there and progress has not been, and would not be, without pitfalls and failure. I said that all we could do was to proceed with our eyes open. I tried to make feminism seem less of a forlorn endeavour to them by pointing out that there are men's organizations[10] and that there are feminist women clamouring for feminist men to relate to. This seemed to cheer them somewhat.

Another student worried about the effects on the next generation if all the mothers go off to work and "throw their kids into day care." I took exception to the implication that day care was second-rate care and talked about quality day care. I also introduced the possibility of restructuring the workplace so that mothers and fathers could both share child care and children could spend less time away from their families. I also emphasized another student's comments about quality time by pointing out that children need to know that they are loved and that fewer hours of quality time were worth more to a child's self-esteem than twenty-four hours a day of neglect and indifference. (It seemed as though my comments about quality attention brought tears to the eyes of one of my toughest students.) Another student then asked if it wasn't going to work against the goals of feminism to have fathers doing more child care. He reasoned that men would teach their children values that were inimical to the women's movement and thus undermine its ends. I answered that that was a chance that we were just going to have to take but that I thought that the experience of raising children would soften men in the process.

The final discussion was initiated by a man who had already identified himself to me as a convicted rapist. He asked, with some concern, what we were going to about the fact that when all was said and done it came down to a question of brute force. Men were bigger and better trained to violence and women would lose every time. The same man who had talked about quality time for children turned to the first man and started to talk about socializing our children away from violence and towards a cooperative ethic. He talked about giving children the power to do things, and teaching them to share power rather than teaching them to gain power by taking it away from others. I was pleased to be left with nothing but to agree with his excellent response.

The next class was devoted to the question of rape. I was very anxious about approaching this issue with this group of men. I believed that I had earned a fair measure of their trust by this time but I also knew that

I could lose it far more easily and quickly than I had gained it. I decided to try to go gently with this topic. I began with some firm statements of principle. I stated that I believed that although there are no justifications for rape, there are reasons for it. I said that I was interested in discussing those reasons with them and that I considered them to be able to tell me things about the reasons for rape that I would not otherwise have access to. Having offered them both my condemnation and my willingness to listen, I proceeded to talk about some of the myths about rape and about the different varieties of rape. I began making it clear that I was aware of the excuses that are commonly used by men and that I was not persuaded by them. I then started to explain to them how women perceive rape. I gave them some statistics about date rape, soft rape, and stranger rape. I tried to explain to them why so many experiences that they think of as seduction are rape in the eyes of women, and that women acquiesce to sex that they don't really want because the psychological or physical price of resistance is too high. I talked about rape as an act of terrorism. And then I showed them an excellent film in which convicted rapists talk about their own reasons for raping women.[11]

I was somewhat surprised at the silence in the room as I talked. I had expected some protest from them that I had it all wrong. They did not appear to resist what I had to say and in fact seemed quite intensely interested. It seems possible that they were too ashamed of themselves, as rapists, to protest anything that I said. But I don't believe that that was the reason for their silence. Their silence was not one of turning away from, but rather of leaning into, what I was saying. They seemed hungry to understand how women experience rape. Their eyes stayed riveted to me as I talked and their expressions were intent, as if they had to be careful not to let anything slip by them because they were hearing something arcane and essential that they would not again have the opportunity to hear.

During the film, I observed the students as much as I watched the screen. I was aware of them moving into and out of rapt attention as the film hit on analyses that spoke to their own lives. The rapists on the screen talked of their woeful ignorance of real-life women and their reliance on pornography and media-generated fantasy for the formation of their desires. They told of their own histories of childhood sexual abuse and of their own self-hatred, both before and after their rapes. I was certain that my students were busily comparing themselves to the men speaking on the screen.

The film ended a few minutes past the official end of class time. Not a single man stirred in his seat or made any move to leave the room. They all just sat there in silent self-reflection waiting for me to lead us on. I waited a moment in the silence, looking back at them. Then I asked them simply: "Did they get it right?" I waited while they slowly collected themselves sufficiently to respond. Few spoke, and those who did supported the themes of the film. They seemed too lost in their own thoughts to speak much, but I could detect no hostility or defensiveness. Mostly, they seemed sad.

In the face of their silence, and their reluctance to leave, I began to take the floor again. I talked to them about the horror of rape, the degradation of rape. To my surprise I found myself also talking about the horror and degradation of rape for the rapist. I talked about the rapist as a man who feels himself to be unworthy of being loved by a woman, but who feels that, as a man, he deserves the pleasure of sex with a woman. I painted a picture of the rapist as a man who feels that it is his right to take a woman by force but who, having done so, drives himself further into self-hatred. The cycle begins with self-hatred and low self-esteem in the rapist who blames women for his inability to relate successfully to them. The man seeks to bolster his ego by the sexual conquest of another person. When that conquest fails to achieve its goal of ego enhancement, because the use of force only confirms the rapist's unlovableness, he is plunged further into self-hatred. Not only has he proven to himself that he is unredeemable, but he now knows himself to be the socially despised rapist. Rape is horrific for women and it doesn't even work for men.

I felt that I was taking a big chance saying these things to these men and pretending that I knew what I was talking about. As I spoke I watched them very closely and waited for their faces to close to me. It never happened. They stayed with me, watching me intently, with pain in their eyes, and nodding their agreement with my analysis. They stared into me again with that same expression of old anguish mingled with relief that I had seen in their faces on the other days that I had spoken to the pain in their lives. At twenty minutes past the hour, I pointed out the time and gently thanked them for staying late. Most of them quietly left at that point and I heaved a quick sigh of tension release before continuing on with a few interested students who stayed behind to talk further. We talked briefly about rehabilitation methods for rapists and then went on to other less intense subjects.

The one remaining class after that one was sorely anticlimactic. Their final papers were due on that date and most of them were off finishing them up. The last class was devoted to a lecture and discussion of the novel which I had assigned them to read and I suspect that many of them never found the time to read it and so quietly absented themselves from that last class. Finally, I suspect that all of us felt that after the intensity of our discussion of rape there was not much left to be said. Those of us who were there talked about the novel, I handed out the course evaluation forms, and we said our goodbyes.

Evaluation and Conclusions

I agreed to teach women's studies to this group of convicted sex offenders having grave doubts, concerned that I would be engaging in a futile and depressing endeavour. I feared that, at best, I would exhaust myself trying to teach into gale force hatred of women; that their attitudes towards women would enrage and disgust me. In my worst case scenario, I envisioned the classroom deteriorating into a pitched battle and the net result of my efforts being that I had armed rapists and child molesters with a more sophisticated understanding of women, thus enabling them to better impose their perversities on unwilling victims. I had been unable to even imagine the level of success that we did achieve in that classroom.

The completed course evaluation forms confirmed that much of what I thought I had seen did happen for the men as the course proceeded. (See Appendix B for the course evaluation form I used.) All seven of the men who completed the course evaluation forms said that they would recommend this course to their friends. One man said, "*Most definately* [sic]—all men should take it!!" Another said that he would also recommend it to his wife and his son and his daughter. Two men said that the course had changed their lives, and the remainder said that they had learned a lot. All made comments thanking me, or commending me, for a good course. One man, with three years' university behind him, called it "one of the most interesting I have ever taken."

To me, the most important comments were those that showed something of how far these men had come in seven short weeks. One said, "We're in this together and it is to our benefit to make some changes in the way we treat each other." Perhaps that man had such opinions before the course began, but consider this comment made by a convicted rapist nearing the end of his term:

> I feel that I learned more about women that will assist me intimately and generally in my relations with women. I came away feeling that it wasn't "us" and "them" but rather "we." I understood feminism for what it is—it's not a bunch of "ball breaking dykes" seeking to emasculate me. The feminist perspective is a totally valid point—and one which I embrace.

This man had repeatedly made negative comments about radical, man-hating feminists throughout the course. I had never denied to him that such women exist but only said that they were a minority voice within the women's movement. Apparently, for the moment, he had abandoned some of his fear of feminists.

The value of teaching women's studies to sex offenders was summed up for me by the anonymous comment of one man who said, "If I could have had this course twenty years ago I would not be in the mess that I am in today." For each man who is in jail for sexual offences, there are many, many more women and children whose lives have been shattered by what those men have done to them. The motivations of the men who commit rape and the sexual abuse of children are far too complex for me to understand, but I have learned from this experience that masculine ignorance of women's reality is definitely a factor in a great many instances. In their ignorance, men are left with little alternative but to assume that women act from motivations and circumstances similar to their own. They misunderstand the meaning of women's actions and act according to their own masculine set of values. They see confrontation and challenge where women intend none and they retaliate in masculine ways. They feel manipulated and made to appear foolish where women have other intents, and they strike out in their humiliation.

This women's studies course offered a small group of men a first step out of their ignorance. It also allowed them a safe and legitimate route to begin not only to understand more about the ways of women but also to appreciate the value of those ways. If these men want to be able to put into practice some of what they have learned, they must also become more like women in some important aspects. Probably the most important is that they must learn to empathize with the experiences of others. In order to do that they must develop richer emotional lives at the same time as they must become more adept at maintaining a reasoned perspective on the relations between the sexes. They must learn to put themselves in the place of women and see things from our point of view.

In order to do that they must have knowledge. We raise men in our society to be ignorant of the lives of women. These sex offenders are not unique in that regard. Men have few legitimately masculine ways to learn to understand women, and sexual offences are one result of that state of affairs. I therefore strongly recommend that women's studies be made available to sex offenders as a rehabilitative measure, and to men generally, as a preventative measure. I do not recommend that it be made compulsory for any adult man but that any man who has the motivation to lessen his ignorance be granted the opportunity to do so.

I believe that much masculine hatred and fear of women comes from men's need of feminine acceptance and their concomitant vulnerability to rejection by women. I gave these men some direction on how to help alleviate that sense of vulnerability and dependency. I showed them that feminism encourages men to become more responsible for their own emotional lives, and can give them some of the tools to do so. I taught them that one of feminism's goals is to free women from their financial dependency on men, and men from emotional dependency on women. I taught that that freedom comes at the price of women learning to shoulder more of the burden of the provider role and men learning to be better caretakers. Feminism could thus diminish women's emotional leverage over men, and men's financial control over women.

I believe that this women's studies class for sex offenders was as successful as it was because the men who came to women's studies were highly motivated to learn. Their lives had been entirely restructured as the result of their criminal convictions; they had come to be among the most despicable members of society and they wanted to understand how they had gotten there and how to innoculate themselves against ever returning. But I did not make it easy on these men. From the beginning, I took pleasure in pounding away at them that their behaviour was totally unforgivable. I made it clear that I had heard all of the excuses before and they did not work on me. In a way, I think they took comfort in my unforgiving stance. It allowed them to give up on making justifications, conniving for sympathy, or bullying for power, and just get on with learning what they could. I believe that they also felt supported by the fact that I was still there teaching them, and listening to them, even though I knew what they had done and condemned their actions. I believe that this success could be replicated with other groups of sex offenders.

The key reward of feminism for these men seemed to be its potential to make them more acceptable to women. This may also be a key to sex offenders for feminists. If my suppositions are correct, their anger towards women can begin to abate as they find greater acceptance from women. Greater acceptance can only come as these men learn to act in concert with the interests of women. Women's studies can give men some of the insights and the information on which to build empathy with women and to act for the betterment of women, while the very presence of women's studies in their lives can demonstrate to them that they haven't been abandoned by the women who criticize them the most vociferously. This can only be a boon to their rehabilitation, and to the future safety of women and children.

APPENDIX A

Women's Studies 100-4

Women's Studies for Men: An Introduction to Gender Roles

Course description: An introductory course examining the construction, maintenance, and communication of sex/gender in everyday life from conception to old age. Biological, psychological, social, economic, and cultural influences on sex/gender will be considered in conjunction with issues such as child-rearing practices, sexually and emotionally intimate relationships, and contemporary cultural institutions.

The course will be presented from a feminist perspective which, while focussing more closely on the experience of women, recognizes that the lives of men and women are inextricably bound together and that one sex/gender cannot be studied independently of the other. All subjects will be approached in a manner which is designed to accommodate both feminism *and* the perspectives of masculinity.

Assignment Schedule: The class will be organized in a lecture/tutorial format. Lectures will be supplemented weekly with videos or films. There will be weekly reading assignments and students will be required to read *The Handmaid's Tale,* a dystopian novel by Margaret Atwood. There will be one short paper required of each student for which students will be able to choose their own topics. There will be two exams. Class participation will count towards the final grade.

Required Readings:

A reading package will be supplied.
The Handmaid's Tale, by Margaret Atwood.

Grading Schedule:

Exam I: 25%
Exam II: 25%
Essay: 40%
Participation: 10%

Course Outline:

Week 1
Introductions and administrative details.
Why Women's Studies?

Week 2
Biological sources of sex differences and similarities.
Some possible evolutionary explanations of gender roles.
Anthropological and cross-cultural perspectives on women's status.

Week 3
Psychological theories of gender.
Early gender socialization.
Childhood.
Adolescent gender socialization.
Child abuse—physical.

Week 4
Child abuse—sexual.
Exam I.
Women in pre-industrial economies.
Industrialization and women's work force participation.

Week 5
Economic theories about women's work.
Women and unions.
Marriage.
Housework and child care.

Week 6
Wife battering.
Exam II.
Images of women in art, advertising, and pornography.

Week 7
Rape.
The Handmaid's Tale.
Course evaluations.
Papers due.

APPENDIX B

Course Evaluation

1. What level of education did you have before you entered this course?
2. Why did you decide to take women's studies?
3. Which reading assignments did you find most personally useful to you?
4. Were there any reading assignments which you felt should not have been used? If so, which ones and why?
5. Which subjects were of greatest interest to you?
6. Which subjects were of the least interest to you?
7. What was the best thing about your experience of women's studies?
8. What was the worst thing about your experience of women's studies?
9. How do you feel about having taken this course?
    a. It changed my life.
    b. I learned a lot about myself.
    c. It was good entertainment.
    d. Neutral.
    e. It was better than working.
    f. It was a waste of my time.
    g. It made me angry.
10. Would you recommend this course to your friends?
    a. Yes
    b. No.
11. How would you do this course differently, knowing what you know now?
12. Any other comments that you'd like to make? (For more room, use the back of the page.)

Notes

[1] In at least one instance, taking women's studies might have worked against a student's self-interest. One student was called for a parole board hearing during class time. When he returned to class he told me that one of the women on the parole board had made disparaging comments about his attendance in a women's studies class. He reported that she had suggested that such a course was a waste of his time and that he should be taking courses which might be of future vocational use. This particular student was not incarcerated for a sexual offence. Presumably, the dynamics would have been different if he had been a sex offender.

[2] At Matsqui, the students under the age of forty outnumbered their elders by three to one, whereas at Mountain there were as many students over forty as there were under forty.

[3] Three students at Mountain already had BA degrees and several others were clearly comfortable with being at school even though they were new to the SFU program. Several had had trades training in addition to high school and a larger percentage had completed high school as teenagers rather than as returning adults.

[4] The three Native students at Mountain were the only non-whites in the class of twenty.

[5] They argued that feminist attention to the issues of rape and child abuse had resulted in increased conviction rates for these crimes. Thus, some of them felt that they would not have been imprisoned for their crimes had feminists not been active in these areas.

[6] The men at Mountain seemed to break into two types. Close to two-thirds of them were either slight or quiet, passive-seeming men. The remaining men were physically large and imposing, although restrained in their behaviour. As a whole, the sex offenders group was more subdued than the general population inmates had been at Matsqui the year before.

[7] My feminist work with men is predicated on the assumption that the status of women cannot be improved without inducing change both in the institutions of society and in the individuals who sustain them. Consequently, I believe that major social change for women requires significant changes both in the behaviour of individual men and the institutions which they control. It is for these reasons that I consider it essential that feminists take an active role in retraining men to behave more in accordance with feminist principles and to see such changes in themselves as to their advantage and betterment. At this historical moment I do not yet trust men to do this work properly entirely among themselves. As a result, the task must presently fall to women.

[8] This class also happened to fall after the final drop date for the course. Thus, the students who were there that day were those who had self-selected as the ones who were willing to stay through the course and at least give me a hearing. In other words, I had lost the most hostile students, and the curiosity seekers, before I came to the first round of difficult material.

[9] Transition House Films, *We Will Not Be Beaten* 16 mm, 35 min., n.d. Distributed by the National Film Board of Canada.

[10] National Organization for Changing Men, P.O. Box 451, Watseka, IL 60970 USA.

[11] *Why Men Rape* 16 mm, 40 min., n.d. Distributed by the National Film Board of Canada.

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The Eastern Fathers' Group

AN EDUCATIONAL AND MUTUAL SUPPORT PROGRAM FOR INCARCERATED FATHERS

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During the summer of 1987, an innovative program was instituted at the Eastern New York Correctional Facility, one of more than fifty prisons operated by the New York State Department of Correctional Services (DOCS). Located in Napanoch, a rural region of the Hudson Valley in New York State, Eastern is about two hours from New York City and consists of a maximum-security "main" facility housing approximately 990 prisoners, and a medium-security "annex" with about 150 men. The prison's total population is approximately 2.3% of the entire New York State prison population. The new program was a prisoner-initiated parenting group for incarcerated fathers whose aim was to educate the imprisoned father about parenting issues while providing a support group to assist the men in coping with family concerns.

The Eastern Fathers' Group (EFG) for incarcerated fathers is comprised of three components: mutual support meetings, monthly educational seminars, and a certified parenting education course. As such, it has both support and educational components, although the primary purpose is education. Moreover, as correctional education can be conceptualized as both skill acquisition and a moral enterprise (Michalek 1988), so too can the parenting effort at Eastern.

Parenting skills are learned through formal instruction in parenting education. In the classroom, men learn how to perform essential parenting tasks. At the same time, men learn about their children's cognitive, emotional, and physical development. This educational function provides the men with specific skills and knowledge essential for effective parenting.

The moral dimension of parenting is inculcated by regular discussions of family-related issues. The consciousness-raising exchange of

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ideas that occurs as a result of EFG meetings and seminars serves to readjust the fathers' values. This change stems from a new awareness in the fathers with regard to the responsibilities and sacrifices involved in caring for their children. In essence, it is believed that, by sensitizing the incarcerated father to a myriad of family concerns and issues, he will be more inclined to develop an appropriate parenting morality.

This paper begins by presenting a brief overview of previous strategies designed to assist incarcerated parents. Also discussed are the evolution of the EFG, its three program components, the program dynamics, the development of a reference library for incarcerated fathers, and the development and implementation of an evaluation of the EFG. Finally, several suggestions are made for improving both the quality of father-child interaction, and the parenting program offering at Eastern.

Background

Programs for incarcerated mothers have been widely implemented in the United States. Program components typically include establishing children's centres, convening parenting education classes, allowing overnight visits, and arranging for social services' help for the families of incarcerated mothers. One prison even has an on-site nursery where mothers and children may live together for up to one year after the child's birth (Boudouris 1985, 7). Both Boudouris (1985) and Rocheleau (1987) offer a comprehensive listing of interventions for assisting imprisoned mothers. Numerous authors have provided additional information dealing with specific prison parenting programs for mothers (Barry 1985; Baunach 1985; Beavers-Luteran 1983; Eyres 1986; McCarthy 1980; Rocheleau 1987; Rosenkrantz and Joshua 1982).

The advent of programs for the imprisoned paternal parent has received somewhat less attention. Still, several authors have noted and recommended addressing the inequity in prison programs for mothers versus fathers (Bauhofer 1985; Baunach 1985; Boudouris 1985; Gamer and Schrader 1981). Hairston and Lockett (1985, 1987), almost uniquely in the field, report on a Tennessee State Prison initiative for incarcerated fathers called Parents in Prison. For the most part, though, the literature is noticeably deficient with regard to parenting programs for male prisoners.

New York State has parenting programs for its prisoners in both women and men's institutions. New York's maximum-security women's prison at Bedford Hills hosts the only long-term on-site prison nursery in the United States. The program also has a children's play-room, a Parenting Center, parenting education classes, and a furlough program in New York City where the mother may spend up to a week with her children (Boudouris 1985). The parenting effort also includes a support group for the mothers at Bedford.

Several medium-security men's prisons also have initiated parenting programs. At Arthurkill, where the population is comprised of younger men who are due to be released in three or fewer years, the parenting effort consists primarily of sixteen two-hour parenting education workshops. Planned Parenthood of New York City began this Parent Education Program (PEP) in 1979. It first came into the prison system at Arthurkill in 1986-87 with funding supplied by the New York State Department of Correctional Services (DOCS). The PEP classes emphasize sex-education issues, decision-making skills, fathering concerns, and communication skills (Planned Parenthood 1987).

The medium-security facility at Taconic also has implemented a parenting intervention for its short-term male prisoners. This program, FamilyWorks, was developed by The Osborne Association, and is funded by an $80,000 combined grant from DOCS and other agencies. The program at Taconic is comprised of a parenting education course, a Children's Center, and a community/transitional component which consists of counselling and employment services. The program begin formal operation in July 1986 with the hiring of a FamilyWorks project director. By July 1987, the education classes were well-established (Osborne Association 1987).

Two institutions for younger offenders at Coxsackie and Elmira offer parenting education classes. "Taking Care" is the course selected for these populations. The Interstate Consortium on Residential Child Care developed this series for New York's Division for Youth (DFY).[1] The medium-security prison at Otisville also plans to use the Taking Care course. Additionally, a support group for incarcerated fathers is operating under the auspices of Family Services[2] at the work-release facility at Fulton. There is little else in the way of programs for incarcerated fathers in the fifty-three separate prison facilities in New York State.

Evolution of the EFG

The senior author proposed the concept for initiating an educational-therapeutic group for Eastern's incarcerated fathers in November 1985 during a meeting with two representatives of the prison administration at Eastern. The initial response was guarded, although not wholly unsupportive. Their suggestion was to let the program develop under the auspices of what was then the facility Family Reunion (overnight trailer visiting program) office. This strategy was followed.

However, in early 1986, the Family Reunion office went through a number of transitions at the request of the New York State Commissioner of Corrections in response to a recently completed report from his Task Force on Visiting. The former name was dropped and the department was renamed Family Services. Accompanying the bureaucratic restructuring was an expanded mandate for Family Services to pursue other family-related initiatives in addition to the overnight trailer visiting program. As a result, the EFG proposal lay dormant until Family Services at Eastern resolved personnel issues.

A year later, an Assistant Commissioner of Corrections directed those facilities with a Family Services' office to establish a parenting education program. The original proposal to implement an educational-therapeutic group for incarcerated fathers at Eastern coincided neatly with the new direction of Family Services. At the same time, the Family Services' staff at Eastern enlarged to accommodate their increased role in providing assistance to prisoners and their families.

Still, during the period between conception and implementation, the only substantive meeting for the prisoners occurred in April 1987, when two members of the Fathers Rights Association of New York State, Inc., travelled to Eastern to help initiate a support group for imprisoned fathers. It was an exploratory meeting revolving around issues of concern to the fathers. The question of establishing a regular format for the group was discussed as well. The guests agreed that starting the EFG was an important undertaking, and expressed a willingness to help in the genesis of this program.

The Eastern Fathers' Group, as originally conceptualized, was to consist of two components operating simultaneously—educational and therapeutic elements. The therapeutic component began upon the request of the senior author who approached a psychologist from the Office Mental Health–Bureau of Forensic Services (OMH–Forensics) at Eastern. This group was co-run by a facility psychologist and a corrections counsellor.

The group consisted of fewer than ten men, and ran for ten sessions from June to August 1987. It was discontinued after that period because the group facilitators felt that the expectations of the men could not be met by a therapy group alone. In short, the therapists viewed the educational component as a necessary concomitant to the therapy dimension because it could provide basic information about child behaviour, child development, and other vital parenting issues.

Additional impetus for developing an all-inclusive Fathers' Group at Eastern was supplied by a survey of the prison population which showed that approximately two-thirds of the men incarcerated there were fathers (Lanier 1987). In addition, there was a mean number of 2.6 children per respondent; most of these children, approximately 67%, were between the ages of six and eighteen. The data on these incarcerated fathers further showed that men with poor father-child relationships were more apt to suffer from depression. The survey also demonstrated that many fathers experienced a deterioration in their relationships with their children. Clearly, the research indicated that some type of intervention for Eastern's imprisoned parents was warranted.

Two officials representing the Self-Help Clearinghouse of New York State and the Mental Health Association of Ulster County thus were invited to Eastern in June 1987 to discuss the possibilities surrounding the incipient Fathers' Group. Current efforts with the therapy group, as well as future strategies, were discussed at this meeting. The session not only provided valuable information and an established model for convening a support group, but also served to initiate productive associations with two resourceful community agencies. At least in principle, the Eastern Fathers' Group was poised to begin operation.

The catalyst came in September 1987 when a speaker from Prison Families of New York, Inc., was invited to Eastern to conduct a seminar on issues of concern to incarcerated fathers. The talk served to galvanize the population that attended because afterwards they requested to meet again, in any kind of regular session, as soon as possible. The response to the seminar also acted as an inspiration for Family Services to establish a parenting program. In short, the level of interest was raised to such a degree that regular sessions of the Eastern Fathers' Group began three weeks later.

Program Components

By spring 1988, the Eastern Fathers' Group had been operating successfully for six months. Comprised of three components—mutual support meetings, monthly educational seminars, and a certified parenting education course—attendance and interest of the members remained high, and there was a lengthy list of men waiting to join the group.

The long-term, overarching goals of the EFG can be illustrated on several levels. In theory, strengthening the father-child bond should lead to a greater chance of success upon the offender's release. Research encompassing the father-child relationship supports this contention

(Glaser 1964; Haley 1978; Holt and Miller 1972; Howser and Macdonald 1982). More easily realized, perhaps, would be a positive change in the incarcerated father's institutional behaviour. By creating an awareness of just how important family ties are and by providing avenues for emotional redress, the incarcerated father should constructively modify his behaviour during the period of his imprisonment.

Likewise, it is hoped that the incarcerated father will be better prepared to become both an active and an effective parent upon release. This eventuality, in turn, can affect the children's developmental milieu. For example, participation in the EFG may induce the imprisoned father into providing a more positive role model for his children. The father also might contribute to his children's lives by drawing on the experiences of his imprisonment to help them break the cycle of delinquency that seizes some offspring of incarcerated parents. In addition, the incarcerated father's greater awareness of the issues surrounding child abuse and neglect may provide a healthier environment for his developing offspring (Hairston and Lockett 1985, 1987; Burgess, Hartman, and McCormack 1987). A more aware, involved, responsible, and sensitive parent can only serve to improve the quality of life for his children.

MUTUAL SUPPORT MEETINGS

Support meetings are the nucleus of the parenting effort at Eastern, and, essentially, have supplanted the professionally-led therapy group. Every other Tuesday afternoon approximately fifteen to twenty Fathers' Group members meet to talk about issues of concern to them as fathers. No one is allowed to miss more than two sessions without a legitimate excuse, even though there are no signed contracts required for participating in the group. A representative from the facility Family Services' office is usually present. She not only brings news and business issues to the meetings, but participates in the discussions as well.

The support meeting sessions have multiple objectives: to improve the quality as well as the frequency of parent-child communication; to increase the level of knowledge concerning both the effects of parental incarceration on children and the responsibilities of parenthood; to demonstrate the ability of the incarcerated father to be an involved parent; and to inform the men about sex roles and related issues in contemporary society. Hopefully, the self-image of the participants will improve with an increased understanding of both their capabilities and limitations as incarcerated parents.

The meetings also provide an open forum for the airing of the grief associated with the men's loss of family relationships. The personal disclosures that occur here are one of the more powerful aspects of the support component. Men tend to share information and personal advice concerning the father-child relationship in an effort to develop effective coping strategies. A social support system for the fathers is another product of this component. Many men just seem to enjoy talking and reminiscing about their children.

Discussions evolve out of a particular problem or concern experienced by a member of the group, or from issues raised in one of the monthly seminars. At other times, talks are initiated by the introduction of a chosen topic. For example, at one session a videotape of a Phil Donohue program on battered women was shown, leading to several meetings on this issue. As part of this exploration, a dual-earner husband and wife team were invited to a group meeting to discuss sex roles and nontraditional relationships in contemporary society.

The meetings focus on a variety of other topics in addition to issues surrounding the changing roles of women and men in contemporary society. Domestic abuse of any kind, whether child abuse and neglect or spousal abuse, has been explored. A broad range of issues is discussed: parent-child communication; communication with a spouse; the growing independence of the free world parental partner while the man is in prison; the pain incurred during a separation from family, especially where children are concerned; the effects of parental incarceration on children; fathers as nurturing, primary caregivers; abortion and the rights of the woman, the man, and the unborn foetus; and the personal re-evaluation and concomitant positive changes that some men undergo while incarcerated.

One area of particular concern to the men is that of visitation and the various problems encountered in this limited form of family interaction. Talks encompass actual visiting conditions and restrictions, the infrequency and difficulties involved in maintaining physical contact with family members, the trauma of separation at the end of a visit, and the idea that visits are a time for constructive engagement with the children by teaching and relating to them as fathers rather than as rich uncles. One of the principal dilemmas confronting some incarcerated fathers during visits is where to draw the line between entertaining the children and acting as responsible and involved parents.

EDUCATIONAL SEMINARS

Speakers from outside the prison educate and inform the participants about a variety of family-related issues. Educational seminars are also an opportunity to encourage debate on parenting issues among the prison population, while giving community speakers an awareness of the problems confronting incarcerated fathers. Additional contacts and speakers have been obtained through networking of this sort.

A larger number of men attend the monthly seminars. The callout list[3] numbers around seventy men and includes those currently attending, as well as those waiting to participate in, the support sessions. Child "caregivers" from Eastern's Children's Center[4] also attend to increase their exposure to family issues.

Eastern's Volunteer Services' Coordinator has videotaped some of these sessions for men who missed the presentation as well as for future audiences. All of the participants are asked to evaluate the speakers following the presentations. Primarily the prisoners and Family Services' personnel attend the seminars, yet they are open to other members of the facility such as counsellors and parole officers. Recently, OMH–Forensics and A.S.A.T. (Alcohol Substance Abuse Treatment) personnel attended an EFG seminar on spousal abuse.

The initial seminar dealt with specific issues of concern for the families of prisoners as well as for the incarcerated parent himself (Prison Families of New York, Inc.). Additional seminars focussed on "Emotional Abuse and Neglect" (Ulster County Task Force on Child Abuse and Neglect), "Parent-Child Communication" (Mental Health Association of Ulster County), and "Spousal Abuse" (EVOLVE of Ulster County).

Other speakers anticipated include Dr Creasie Finney Hairston, Associate Dean of the School of Social Work at Indiana University and Vice-President of Parents in Prison, Inc.; Sister Elaine Roulet, Director of the Children's Center at the women's prison in Bedford Hills, New York; Elizabeth Gaynes from the Osborne Association, who is the counsel to FamilyWorks at the men's prison at Taconic; and the Mental Health Players from the Hudson Valley Psychiatric Center, who will give a performance created especially for incarcerated fathers.

Parenting Education Course

The third element in the Eastern Fathers' Group is the certified parenting education course. The objective of this component is to provide interested men with formal instruction in parenting issues. This aspect of the program was somewhat delayed due to the unavailability of an appropriate parenting education course. The networking mentioned above resolved this when one of the seminar speakers became aware of the need for a certified parenting education course. The course taught at Eastern is the Taking Care parenting education series. The instructor, the coordinator of the Ulster County Task Force on Child Abuse and Neglect, is assisted by Eastern's Family Services' personnel.

Classes began in late January 1988 and ran in ten-week cycles. The students in the first cohort were either members of the EFG support group or caregivers from the Children's Center. There is a maximum enrollment of twenty-five men per cycle. Contracts for this component are required of each student, stating that he must attend at least nine out of the ten sessions to graduate. Classes are held in the school area of the prison on Thursday mornings. A two-week break will occur at the end of the ten-week cycle before another cohort begins. This time is used for formative evaluation and curriculum modification.

Taking Care covers the stages of emotional and physical development of children from birth to early childhood. The course also teaches coping skills and the recognition of exhaustion, frustration, and anger before these manifest themselves in the household. Other topics addressed are pregnancy and pre-natal care, age-appropriate behaviour in the child, discipline versus punishment, providing a safe or "childproof" environment for the child, interpersonal relationships in the family, the psychological development of the child, the special impact of parental behaviour on the child, the deleterious effects of alcohol and drug abuse on the household, what constitutes child abuse and neglect (and the conditions that foster such destructive behaviour), the emotional and physical impact of abuse and neglect, the responsibility of the parent to the child, and little known childhood conditions such as "fetal alcohol syndrome" and "shaken baby syndrome." Practical instruction in parenting skills, such as bathing, diapering, and holding a baby, is also part of the Taking Care curriculum.

Program Dynamics

PARTICIPATION IN THE EFG

A comprehensive list of participants in the Eastern Fathers' Group includes approximately seventy names. When the support group meetings were initiated, the first twenty-five names on the list were selected. Replacements for losses in the support group come from whoever is next on the list. All the men on the list are included for the monthly educational seminars which are held in the visiting room area. Moreover, men who are waiting to attend the support meetings can enrol in the parenting education course as space allows. In short, some men near the top of the list can take advantage of all three EFG components simultaneously. Others may be involved initially in only one or two of the components, depending upon their placement on the list.

Composition of the EFG

The members of the Eastern Fathers' Group appear to be extremely heterogeneous. Members are from diverse religious backgrounds (Catholic, Jewish, Muslim, Protestants, and nonbelievers), different racial groups (black, Hispanic, and white), and have varying levels of education (ranging from men without high school diplomas to men with Master's degrees). They are fathers to children of all ages (infants to children in their thirties with children of their own), and the soundness of their current family relationships differ in degree (some men have excellent father-child relationships, some poor, and some none at all). Also, the length of the sentences of the men varies greatly (some men are close to their release date while others are long-termers and lifers). In short, the only characteristics the men share equally are a common concern about the relationships with their children, and a desire to become better parents.

Referrals

Referrals to the EFG come from several sources. At the informal level, the primary source of new members is by word of mouth. Talk among members is spread in the yard, across the table in the mess hall, or while men are standing in lines. It also may be the case that a current member is aware of a friend's family situation and wants to help so he informs him of the group. Another source stems from the understandable curiosity of those living in a total institution—men see a "Fathers' Group" callout and inquire about the nature of the program.

More formally, some men have been referred to the group by their corrections counsellor. Others have been directed to the group by a facility psychologist. Notwithstanding the absence of any systematic advertisements such as a facility radio announcement, posters in the mess hall area, or directives to the general population, there is no shortage of aspiring members.

Problems and Restrictions

Once begun, the Eastern Fathers' Group has been relatively free of problems. The enthusiasm and morale of the members remains high, and attrition has been, for the most part, only for administrative reasons (i.e., transfer to another facility, illness, parole, and work release). Still, in one case, a member withdrew from the support group because discussions were "too depressing" in light of his particular family situation.[5] In addition, one man had to quit the support group because it interfered with a work assignment while another member was fired from his job when confronted with a similar situation.

Somewhat paradoxically, the obvious success of the group has engendered the more substantial problem of how to accommodate the lengthy list of incarcerated fathers waiting to participate in the program. The fact that the rate of turnover for the mutual support meetings is so small means that only a minute portion of the applicants can benefit from the services offered by the group sessions. Some men naturally will lose interest as months pass without their being called to attend the support group meetings. In essence, large numbers of the population have been excluded from this aspect of the program because current efforts in this area are too modest. Convening a second support group, which would accommodate another fifteen to twenty men, is under consideration.

The Fathers' Group has operated relatively freely of administrative restrictions. However, unwritten policy dictates that legal issues are not to be discussed at any of the formal group sessions. For example, seminars focussing on legal issues of interest to the incarcerated father (such as obtaining visitation rights or petitioning the court for information concerning the child's upbringing) are not permitted. This restriction also extends to members of the Fathers Rights Association of New York. Although this association was initially involved in generating a support group for incarcerated fathers at this prison, members are no longer allowed to come in and discuss issues of common concern to fathers.

FACTORS RELATED TO SUCCESS

The attendance and participation of men in the Eastern Fathers' Group have been exceptional, attesting to the program's popularity. The prison administration and its security services also have been accommodating and seemingly supportive of the EFG. Additionally, OMH–Forensics at Eastern, The Fathers Rights Association of New York State, the Self-Help Clearinghouse of New York State, the Mental Health Association of Ulster County, and the Ulster County Task Force on Child Abuse and Neglect have contributed to the development of this program. These combined factors have contributed to the program's success to date.

However, the equation for success includes an additional variable: the Fathers' Group could not have developed as successfully as it has without the cooperative interplay between prisoners and Family Services. Prisoners have provided direction as well as substance to the program. Accordingly, Family Services has capitalized on the energy and insight of the men who are most knowledgeable about the concerns of the incarcerated father. At the same time, Family Services has invested the program with legitimacy by supplying it with the official support of both DOCS and the administration at Eastern. Moreover, Family Services has provided a receptive environment within which the EFG could evolve. Family Services' staff not only facilitate the introduction of outside speakers, but also participate in all three components of the group. The flexibility and open-mindedness demonstrated by Eastern's Family Services have been integral in the development of the Fathers' Group.

The Eastern Fathers' Group thus offers a model of mutual cooperation among prisoners, Family Services, and other internal and external agencies. As such, the convergence of interests and the ability to work together have combined to produce a cost-effective, viable program designed to assist incarcerated fathers in coping with the loss of family ties.

Reference Library

As an addendum to the other EFG components, a reference library consisting of books and videotapes is planned. This library will allow group members to pursue interesting issues that have come to light while participating in the Fathers' Group. Hopefully, the parenting reference library also will encourage interest in family-related issues among the entire population at Eastern. Accordingly, the library will be available to the general prison population, as well as to all the men on the EFG waiting list. Seed funding is planned at about $600, with costs shared equally by Eastern's facility library and Eastern's Family Services' office.

The reference library initially will include some sixty books on many diverse parenting topics including child/spouse abuse and neglect issues, father/daughter and father/son relationships, paternal custody, child development, child psychology, parental responsibility, communication skills, effects of stress on family relationships, and positive ways to disciplines. In addition, a series of thirteen videotapes, originally part of a parenting course at the women's prison at Bedford

Hills, will be available through the reference library and for program use. There also will be videotapes of previous EFG visiting room seminars in the library.

EFG Research Evaluation

At the suggestion of the present authors, an evaluation of the EFG is planned. The authors have developed a program model that encompasses the goals and objectives of the Eastern Fathers' Group to guide the evaluation. The evaluation would be performed by the authors and possibly other prisoners conducting post-graduate research in sociology. This research would be conducted under the auspices of the State University of New York at New Paltz.

Through the use of a comprehensive questionnaire, the evaluation is set to measure the separate effects of the three main components of the Fathers' Group, as well as the overall effects of the program. The authors have constructed a questionnaire to gather both intake data (for the period prior to, or at the point of, program involvement) and exit data (after designated program period). This information would measure the effects of the EFG intervention on the participants. Men on the list waiting to join the Fathers' Group also would be interviewed with the EFG intake questionnaire. These men then would constitute a comparison group to the men currently receiving the treatment. In this way, selectivity bias is eliminated because the comparison men also would have tried to enrol in the program.

Data would be gathered at six month intervals. Moreover, if numbers are sufficient, the evaluation also would include analyses within subgroups defined by age, education, race, number of children, length of sentence, program participation, and other variables. Such analyses would detect whether the program has a stronger impact on some groups than on others.

Suggestions for Further Development

Emanating from the birth of the Eastern Fathers' Group has been an awareness that more can be done to increase both the frequency and quality of father-child interaction among prisoners. The parenting effort at Eastern also could be improved in several ways. A number of suggestions are in order. These could be advanced as joint projects between the men in the Fathers' Group and Family Services, or, where necessary, by prison authorities alone. Other agencies also could support these proposals as they deem warranted.

An initial possibility is that the Division for Youth parenting education course employed at Eastern be revised. The present course is informative and served to introduce the basic aspects of child development up to age six. However, since previous research has shown that most children of prisoners at Eastern were between six and eighteen years of age, a course dealing more suitably with older children and teenagers could be developed. Additionally, the DFY series was intended to be taught to adolescent prisoners. A course geared toward an older male prison population would be more appropriate. This revamped curriculum could then be made broadly available.

Furthermore, while it is not part of the Eastern Fathers' Program per se, the existing Children's Center at Eastern could be physically enlarged to accommodate both incarcerated fathers and their children. Currently, only assigned prisoner caregivers and visiting children are allowed in the Center. Because the emphasis on visiting is shifting to father-child interaction, and away from solely providing the children with a respite from the rigours of the visiting room, this expansion is necessary. Incarcerated fathers then would be able to increase quality visiting time with their children in a nonthreatening, mutually supportive atmosphere. Together, they could use the educational and recreational facilities of the Center. Such a move also would reduce the frustration associated with normal prison visiting (Burstein 1977).

Another suggestion is to open a Parenting Center within a nonvisiting area of the facility. This Center would be staffed by a full-time child-care professional. He or she would be available to answer questions from concerned fathers, and, at the same time, to offer guidance with respect to family-related problems. Parenting efforts at the facility could be coordinated from this room. It also could be utilized by the EFG for its mutual support meetings. Furthermore, the Parenting Center could double as a resource area by housing all the books, periodicals, and audio-visual aids of the Eastern Fathers' Group.

By locating the Parenting Center in an area distant from the visiting room, all prisoners, and not just those with visitors, could have access to services. Its presence would focus attention on the role of the male parent and thus further sensitize the population to the importance of family relationships.

An additional suggestion calls for the development and implementation of a Foster Parent Summer Visiting Program. This program, modelled after a program for incarcerated mothers at Bedford Hills, would allow the incarcerated father and his children an opportunity to visit for a one-week period during the summer. Children could stay with host families or in group quarters near the facility where their fathers are imprisoned. These temporary caregivers would then transport the children to the prison each day so the incarcerated parent and his children could visit. Such a program would go a long way toward surmounting the visitation difficulties that confront most prisoners and their children.

Another exciting idea for the summer months would be to schedule a Children's Day Event. A facility family day picnic of this nature could be coordinated by EFG members as a way of reinforcing the message that parents in prison care about their offspring, and that children are important human beings in their own right. The emphasis would be on the youngsters. The event could include games, live entertainment, recreational activities, and gifts for the children. Educational material and talks on family-related issues could be available.

This event would be open to all Eastern Fathers' Group members and their children. In addition, Family Services' staff and other facility personnel would be encouraged to attend with their children. Perhaps it also could be arranged for local children without parents to attend. An event of this type would be beneficial not only to the children involved, but also to the incarcerated parents who, for the most part, never or only infrequently have an opportunity to interact with children.

A final suggestion is that the Fathers' Group be replicated at other prisons. The first six months of operation at Eastern testify to the potential benefits of similar efforts on behalf of parents behind bars. The EFG provides a cost-effective and successful program model for assisting incarcerated parents.

Furthermore, the program format is versatile enough to provide help for long-term prisoners rather than just those men close to their release dates. It also provides assistance to imprisoned parents with varying degrees of contact with their children. Moreover, the program helps to prepare prisoners to assume healthy, positive, and responsible parental roles during and after the period of their confinement. In short, the EFG program model offers an optimal intervention strategy for assisting incarcerated parents in their struggle to confront the loss or deterioration in the relationships with their children.

The Eastern Fathers' Group is not just another prison program designed to occupy a prisoner's time, or to promote the career interests of "correctional" staff. The model described in.this paper demands the constructive involvement of prisoners in conceptualizing, planning, and actually facilitating all three group components. Moreover, the cognitive stimulation engendered by fostering a greater awareness of parenting issues invigorates the father's sense of accomplishment and parental responsibility. This empowers the father emotionally to work through the sense of grief he feels due to the loss or deterioration of family bonds. In short, the potent alliance of therapy and education produces a synergistic effect which maximizes the potential for this program to assist incarcerated fathers, and, in the long run, their children as well.

Notes

[1] The "Taking Care" course was developed by Marc Mercer and Irene Renda under a grant from the National Center on Child Abuse and Neglect (Grant No. 90CA1033/01).

[2] The Division of Family Services operates directly under auspices of DOCS in Albany. Family Services runs all programs within the various state prisons that deal with prisoners and their families. This includes primarily the Family Reunion Program, but more recently consists of other innovative parenting interventions. There is a Family Services' office in fourteen of New York State's fifty-three prisons.

[3] Eastern utilizes a callout system which is a typed notice listing the names, institutional identification numbers, and cell locations of specified prisoners notifying them that they are needed for interviews (e.g., medical, counsellors, parole) or to attend designated programs (e.g., school, Eastern Fathers' Group).

[4] Child caregivers are prisoners who have been screened by an interdisciplinary committee to care for and interact with the children of prisoners and their visitors. The children are left with the caregivers in the Children's Center which adjoins the visiting room. The Children's Center is a refuge from the rigours of the visiting room where the children read books, play games, and spend relaxed time while their parents visit.

[5] This problem was anticipated in an earlier work (Lanier 1987). Moreover, a facility psychologist has made known her availability to help if and when this situation arises.

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The History of California's Arts-In-Corrections Program

A Case Study in Successful Prison Programming

William Cleveland, Arts-In-Corrections, California

June Third

It is my Thirtieth June
one of the thirds of the many Junes of my life
being spent in a smothering cocoon
of memory shrouded poems and
love letters tossed in a dust filled
cardboard box beneath my bed
the tight curls of my head hassled
me with non co-operation
while the sun shone its way
into the lacework of a sweet dream
I couldn't remember while combing my hair
Years don't flush down the toilet like
stray strands left in the cheap plastic teeth
They form haunting lines in the reflection
faced with a razor scraping black gray stubble
displaying the nicks and cuts of too many
June days wasted spent foolishly alone

G. Diamond Woods III

The meeting took place in the Directors' Conference Room at the Department of Corrections ... [F]or the program to survive and grow beyond its demonstrated success at Vacaville, we had to have a commitment of economic support from the Department of Corrections. I began by talking about the positive results we had had at the [Vacaville] Medical Facility and the possibility of permanent art programming at Corrections. [Deputy Director] Mr Warner said, "No, we can't make a place for arts programming in the Corrections budget." [Senator] Henry Mello said, in

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> a very challenging way, "Why not?" ... and continued in that rather demanding way of his, "It's a good program and Corrections is not known for its good programming. I think you should make a place for excellent programs of this kind." Not much more was said after Mello's comment, but I drove home on a cloud. I knew in my heart that ... eventually there would be an Arts-In-Corrections Program.
>
> Eloise Smith

Eloise Smith's 1978 meeting with Senator Henry Mello, Director Jerry Enomoto and Deputy Director George Warner of the California Department of Corrections, and Chairman Peter Coyote of the California Arts Council (CAC), only lasted about fifteen minutes. But behind it were two years' work nurturing inspiration and beauty in a place that meant despair and drab routine for so many of its inhabitants: the California Medical Facility at Vacaville. Still to come were the ten years of bureaucratic pushing and pulling, unlikely alliances, jockeying for funds and, most importantly, a statewide creative partnership between two people at the opposite ends of freedom—the artist and the inmate.

Smith says that the seeds for this successful experiment were planted in 1975, when, as Director of the newly-formed California Arts Council, she spoke to then Covernor Jerry Brown about the CAC's mission. "[H]e stated that it should 'affect other State agencies.'... I asked at that time if he wanted the prison system included, and he said yes ...."

With this in mind, Smith travelled up and down the state, compiling a summary of arts activity throughout California. Included in her research were visits to the state prisons at Soledad and Vacaville. The Governor received her position paper on the subject, which "indicated that nothing of [an artistically] serious nature was going on in the prisons, and that ... there was a wonderful opportunity to start programming through Arts Council grants." The Governor agreed.

Eloise Smith left the California Arts Council and the effort to offer artistic outlets to prisoners became two-pronged. The CAC established its Artists in Social Institutions Program in 1976, distributing grants for individuals and organizations to plan and carry out arts programs in various kinds of institutions, including prisons.

At the same time, Smith and her husband, writer and historian Page Smith, designed a three-year pilot Prison Arts Project for the Vacaville facility. Their idea was simple: a small staff of professional artists, assisted by qualified inmate aides, would give weekly three-hour workshops in poetry, ceramics, painting, drawing, leatherwork, and jewelry-making. The proposal provided concrete descriptions of workshops, personnel, and administration. It also included a philosophy that strengthened the project then and in its later development:

> To provide an opportunity where a man can gain the satisfaction of creation rather than destruction, earn the respect of his fellows, and gain recognition and appreciation from family and outsiders .... [To] provide the professional artist as a model of creative self-discipline and show the making of art as work which demands quality, commitment, and patience .... [To] furnish an alternative to idle time gambling, dope and other illegalities.

In a way, the project was like a scientific experiment. Their hypothesis, influenced by M.C. Richards' book *Centering*, was that an inmate could improve his self-esteem and thus his behaviour by replacing his lost physical freedom with an inner freedom gained through the discipline and rewards of art. This hypothesis would be tested at Vacaville and, later, in institutions up and down the state.

Through their non-profit foundation, the William James Association, the Smiths submitted applications for grants to the California Arts Council's new program, the San Francisco Foundation, the National Endowment for the Arts, and the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration. Their proposals met with enthusiastic responses. First-year funding for the Prison Arts Project, which began in September of 1977, totalled $70,000. The San Francisco Foundation made a conditional commitment for an additional $81,000 for years two and three.

Eloise Smith spent much of the summer of 1977 searching for an artist with "toughness" to coordinate and teach in the Vacaville program. In late August, she found Verne Stanford, a ceramicist who had recently returned from a two-year stint as a resident artist in an Alaskan Eskimo village. After visiting the institution and being interviewed by the Smiths and members of the inmate art guild, Stanford was offered the position of director of the Prison Arts Project. A few weeks later, he walked through the gates of Vacaville to begin work.

With Stanford came some outstanding artists in various disciplines. Some of the most popular classes were given by visiting writers. Many of the inmates had been writing on their own, but they had never received any instruction or encouragement. Poets like Gary Snyder, Jim Hall and Bill Everson (who goes by the name of Brother Antoninus) helped their students strengthen their writing techniques while freeing their creative expression. Stanford, who has a penchant for symbolic confrontation, remembers the day that Brother Antoninus first walked down Vacaville's "mainline" corridor:

> Bill entered the hallway wearing flowing white robes, with hair down to his waist and a big necklace of bear claws. He walked in long strides while his leather sandals made a flapping sound that caught everybody's attention. He had rather severe palsy, so one arm was shaking, while under the other, he carried a bulging stack of worn journals and notebooks and pencils. [He was] flanked on either side by his contingent of spit-polished guards.

Brother Antoninus began by asking the gathered inmate poets to read their work. The poems were powerful and intense but he knew that the poets' egos were fragile. His feedback was gentle and encouraging. They were dealing with cosmic issues—love, bitterness, surrender. Brother Antoninus showed them how to refine their works: "Just tell me about love or giving with the smallest thought you have, in your cell, late at night. Give the smallest thought that makes the biggest point."

Drip
        Drip
                Drip
My leaking faucet in need of repair
Drip ... drip ... drip ...
I'll just (drip) lay here a (drip) few moments more
Drip ... drip ... drip...
Maybe it will (drip) disappear
Drip ... drip ... drip ... drip ... drip
O-h damn!!
Drip ... drip ... drip ... drip ... drip

        D-R-I-P
No sweet sleep tonight
With this faucet dripping at my ear
Drip ... drip ... drip ... drip
I got to rise
        Drip ... drip ... drip ...
To fix my faucet's tears
Drip ... drip ...
        Guard ... guard
I've got a leaking faucet I can't bear
Drip ... drip ... so get the plumber down here
        on 2nd tier
Drip, drip, drip

What's that you say?
Drip ... drip ... drip ...
The plumber escaped?
Drip ... drip ... drip ...
Through the lower sewage drain grate
Oh (drip) well (drip)
Drip ... drip ... drip ...

George Billingslea

> Most of our students were pretty rough characters. Guys with histories of broken families, parents who beat them, failed at education, failed in jobs, failed at marriage, even failed at crime .... But through what I was able to teach them in my ceramics class, they began to get it that it was their own uniqueness that was important. By dwelling on that, and valuing that ... they began to calm down ....
>
> I told them that their ideas were more important than their technique, and that they were going to have to work hard at both if they wanted to be any good .... After a while, there wasn't anybody in there killing time, which is pretty strange for prison. Everybody wanted to be there. Everybody took care of the program. They protected it with their behaviour.

Verne Stanford

The pilot Prison Arts Program had won over a tough audience—inmates and administrators alike expressed their support, and its successes were gaining the attention of some influential people. With Senator Mello's backing, Eloise Smith felt that the establishment of a permanent arts program in the Department of Corrections was within reach. Despite Corrections' initial rejection of Smith's expansion proposal, Senator Mello introduced a $400,000 augmentation to the annual budget, to be used specifically for arts programming, during the 1980–81 legislative budget hearings. When Governor Jerry Brown signed the final 1980–81 state budget, the $500 million Department of Corrections appropriation included the full $400,000 to pay for an arts program with a program manager and six full-time civil service Arts Program Coordinators.

In July of 1981, Verne Stanford accepted an appointment as Special Consultant to design and carry out the Department of Corrections' new arts program. Knowing that it would be essential to "make friends" within the bureaucracy for this "wacko program," he began to walk the corridors of Corrections' Central Office, introducing himself and the arts program to key administrative staff. He educated himself in the history and concerns of the Department, determined to design a program that fit.

That autumn, as Stanford prepared to visit the twelve state prisons, Governor Jerry Brown fired the Director of the Department of Corrections. Jerry Enomoto was a career veteran of the Department, popular with the closely knit Corrections "family," and he was convinced that he had been made the scapegoat in a political squabble. At first, he refused to step down but, after weeks of wrangling, he acceded to the Governor's wishes and left the Department. Verne Stanford faced the task of establishing the fledgling arts program within a divided Department headed by a new and internally unpopular administration.

The conflicts within the Central Office were complicated by the relative independence of each state prison. Not only were the twelve facilities spread out geographically, but they had a tradition of autonomy and widely differing missions. Stanford would have to convince each warden that his or her own particular facility would benefit by providing space and supervision for a program administered by an "outsider from the Central Office" and given by artists with no prison experience.

It was not an easy sales pitch. But the positive example of the Vacaville program showed that arts activities could reduce tension and violence associated with inmate idleness. And, since the dollars came from the Department's appropriation, it could be done without making a significant impact on the separate institutional budgets. Stanford was able to find some supporters in the prisons, especially among the staff at Vacaville and at the Correctional Training Facility (CTF) at Soledad, the California Institution for Women at Frontera, and San Quentin, all of which had previously sponsored resident artists on an individual basis. After weeks of travel and promotion, Stanford gained approval to start programs at these four sites, as well as two more at the California Men's Colony at San Luis Obispo and the California Institution for Men at Chino.

The search for six Arts Program Coordinators to work in the prisons brought new challenges. The list of necessary characteristics in an ideal candidate ranged from proven creative talent, to an established body of work, to extraordinary patience and organizational skills. Plus, he or she had to be willing to work under stressful conditions in a potentially hostile environment.

Stanford enlisted the help of the William James Association to find the best candidates in the smallest amount of time. Eloise Smith and he mounted a statewide call for artists, travelling to each program site to interview local artists and arts organizations. They found that, in spite of the intimidating nature of the job, many artists welcomed the challenge of working with the inmates, especially since it offered the rare prospect of regular artistic employment with reasonable pay.

The six Arts Program Coordinators chosen became the first resident artists to be hired into California's civil service system (California State Personnel Board 1982). Painter/muralist Dick Crispo was assigned to CTF Soledad where earlier, as a California Arts Council resident artist, he and a crew of inmates had painted the world's longest indoor mural along the walls of the institution's quarter-mile mainline corridor (California Arts Council 1983). Ceramicist Jerry Meek, who had succeeded Stanford at the Vacaville site, was picked to continue there. Kim Kaufman and Tom Skelly, both alumni of the Claremont College graduate program in painting, started up the programs at the California Institution for Women at Frontera and California Institution for Men at Chino. The programs at San Luis Obispo and San Quentin were established by ceramicists John Barrett and Gail Caulfield.

As soon as the Arts Program Coordinators were in place, the design and staffing of the workshops began. Each facility had different capacities and limitations, but Stanford and his staff soon found a general approach that worked in most situations: "Hire the best possible artists and, after a thorough orientation, give them their heads."

By November of 1981, eighteen artists in the visual, performing and literary arts had been interviewed, cleared, oriented, and were working under the auspices of the Arts-In-Corrections program. Even some of the prisons without Arts Program Coordinators had hired individual artists. As enthusiasm for the programs spread, the impetus for creating new and different workshops and projects shifted from the Central Office to the prisons themselves. Still, Arts Program Coordinator Jerry Meek's struggle for a toehold at Vacaville was typical of the problems that the artists faced:

> The acquisition and holding of personnel and space determined who had the power in the institution .... After a while it got pretty ugly ... [B]ecause I was a "fish," a new guy, I'd make a mistake every once in a while. As soon as this happened, somebody would go off and whisper in an administrator's ear that I was screwing up ... [T]hey were banking on me hanging myself with some major mistake. You know, waiting for me to put my finger into a light socket so I would light up and draw attention to myself and get kicked out .... I made sure I knew what I was doing, and if I was at all unsure, I'd ask. It was a hard lesson ... but I learned.

Similar resistance to the program was encountered by all six new Arts Program Coordinators. In different ways, each confronted various correctional and administrative rites of passage during their first few months. It was essential though, for each of them to learn to distinguish between real obstruction and everyday bureaucratic unresponsiveness. Patience, persistence, and a few showdowns eventually gave them the experience they needed to advocate effectively for their programs and survive the experience. Their hard work and commitment also earned them the respect of many who had originally opposed the program. Slowly, "art" and "artist" worked their way into the vocabulary of the California prison system and one by one the Arts-In-Corrections Coordinators graduated from the ranks of the lowly "fish."

"Fish" or not, there was often no way to avoid getting caught up in turf wars and power games which had nothing to do with the program itself. As a new player in the institutional milieu, the Arts-In-Corrections program was also one of the most vulnerable. The "arts guys" were invariably low on everyone's list of priorities. Whether it was program space, custody supervision, or inmate workers that were in short supply, Arts-In-Corrections was the logical source to borrow or steal the needed resources. Often, because of the fiercely independent nature of some CDC facilities, Stanford's attempts at intervention were counter-productive. In other instances he was able to intercede with positive results. In a few cases, when faced with the prospect of losing an entire program at a particular site, the Arts-In-Corrections guardian angel, Senator Henry Mello, became involved.

In the final analysis, though, the greatest obstacle to Arts-In-Corrections' success was the same nameless, faceless, slow motion bureaucracy that hampers most attempts at quality institutional programming. The slow turning of the administrative wheels for a low priority like Arts-In-Corrections was at times stifling. The artists own lack of bureaucratic savvy exacerbated the problem. Eventually, carefully cultivated networks of "institutional friends" and the liberal use of Arts-In-Corrections community-based partners helped to avoid red tape and smoothed the way so that the program could function effectively. Ironically, as it became clear that Arts-In-Corrections would survive its first year successfully, others, equally frustrated by red tape, began looking to Arts-In-Corrections for new ideas about how to get things done.

While the skepticism from the line staff diminished, demand for workshops and projects swelled. Verne Stanford worked long hours finding new artists, researching and purchasing massive orders of supplies and equipment, negotiating program space, keeping up with bureaucratic paperwork, keeping the Legislature and media informed, and acting as the Arts Program Coordinator for the six institutions which had not been assigned Arts-In-Corrections staff earlier.

Despite the many difficulties Smith and Stanford had faced, they had successfully shepherded their "improbable dream" from an experimental pilot project to a nascent but truly institutionalized state-supported program. Professional artists were, in fact, being paid by the state to teach art to inmates in the state's prisons. What many had regarded as an impossibility had become a reality. But how? What were the essential ingredients that made the hard work and stubborn persistence pay off?

Clearly the program would never have moved beyond the realm of interesting conversation without the energy, commitment, and strategic planning provided by its initiator, Eloise Smith. In addition to her organizational abilities, though, Smith, also brought an extensive network of political contacts and connections into the equation. Her ability to deliver the necessary political and economic muscle set the stage that provided the opportunity for the hard work to pay off.

Even then, Smith's influence and commitment only served as a starting point. Next, her effective fundraising put the program in a position of strength in the crucial early going. Her first approach to the administration of the California Medical Facility at Vacaville would have been fruitless if she had no prospect of funding in her proposal. Without it, she may have slipped in the front door, but no amount of political muscle could have convinced the superintendent to take a chance on a project that was both unfunded and experimental.

Once the program was on its feet, the ongoing pressure provided by Senator Mello's unwavering support and rising political fortunes unquestionably contributed to Arts-In-Corrections' staying power. Without his constant encouragement, it would have been very difficult to sustain the CDC's willingness to embrace the program as its own. And, with his endorsement, it was clearly in the Department's self-interest to provide continuing support.

A final essential ingredient which contributed to Arts-In-Corrections' unlikely survival was the commitment of many artists and arts organizations to the project. Even with their feet planted firmly inside the bureaucratic and institutional front doors, if Eloise and Verne had not been able to call upon a large pool of talented and adventurous professional artists to staff the program, Arts-In-Corrections would never have had an opportunity to prove itself under fire.

In February 1982, I was hired to assist Stanford administer the program. Like most new Arts-In-Corrections staff members, I had never stepped inside a prison. But as the former coordinator of the Sacramento Metropolitan Arts Commission's Community Artists Program, I had spent the previous two years placing resident artists in schools, libraries. and other community sites, using federal funds. I knew my "bureaucratese" and, as a professional musician, I knew the arts side of the job, too.

My skills were put immediately to the test with the program's first major "snafu." Because we had only six civil service positions (for the Arts Program Coordinators), we had to contract with dozens of workshop artists separately. The typical contract ran for two to six months, providing one or two three-hour workshops per week. Not only was this bureaucratically complex and time-consuming for the program's administrators, but the state's delayed payment system was not geared to the needs of artists with little or no cash flow. Eventually, we hit upon the idea to contract with the William James Association to help us in this area: the Association's ability to select, orient, and pay artists quickly and efficiently, provided Arts-In-Corrections with much needed administrative and programming flexibility.

At this point, Verne Stanford decided that his impatience with the bureaucracy and his yearning to "turn back into an artist" had grown enough that he should resign. He felt that he had shepherded the program through its difficult beginnings and that he could now leave it in my hands.

I began my tenure as Arts Program Administrator the same way Verne Stanford had when he was first hired as consultant: meeting with people, wading through paperwork, and touring the state prisons. For months, I argued for a contract which specified the hiring of artists based on subjective artistic criteria, fielded inquiries, and worked my way through the Request for Proposal process to the point where I was able to write a long-term contract with the William James Association (in northern California) and UCLA Artsreach (in southern California) to find and pay workshop artists for Arts-In-Corrections projects.

However, the grind of debate and paperwork was more than balanced by the satisfaction I felt upon visiting the prisons for the first time. Perhaps the three weeks I spent observing and participating in classes at Soledad were the most inspiring—the artists and inmates there had established an arts community in one of the largest and toughest prisons in America. Dick Crispo's mural crews were designing and painting away. There were two or three poetry classes. Musician Jack Bowers had bands playing wherever they could find a place to practice.

(One group even used the gym bathroom as a studio. Anyone who has ever sung in the shower can understand the acoustical advantages of such a site!) Even the staff was excited. Deputy Superintendent Alan Stagner literally took me by the arm and pulled me down to the education wing to show off "my art program."

We were all learning that these efforts added new dimensions to our own lives, as well as those of the inmates. Artist Jonathan Borofsky expressed this feeling:

> Now you might wonder why I choose to go into prisons to talk to these people. What does it have to do with art? Why talk to them at all—they have robbed and killed and they create fear in our lives.
>
> Well, we are learning to be free. Not only can we learn from those who claim enlightened states of mind, but from those who are less free than ourselves.

The program's early successes seemed to prove its founders correct—at every site, would-be students and artists outnumbered class spaces and the dropout rate was far lower than for other voluntary leisure-time offerings. The inmates were working hard and showing unusual commitment. But I came back from my tour knowing that Arts-In-Corrections needed to solidify its position through a variety of means. In addition to completing successfully the RFP process, we needed to prove ourselves further—to the Department of Corrections, to the Legislature, and to the people of California. We had to show them that the program was well-run and popular with the institutions but, more importantly, we had to show them how it affected them personally.

Time and again we were reminded that Senator Mello's enthusiasm for the program and his willingness to champion us with his colleagues was the single most important factor in our efforts. His membership on the Senate Rules Committee gave him a key role in approving the appointments of all wardens and superintendents. He made it a point to question every prospective Department of Corrections appointee about his or her position on Arts-In-Corrections.

The Department of Corrections staff were also realizing the difference Arts-In-Corrections could make. The various institutions were reporting back with praise for the workshops and the artists. When, in 1983, the Legislature mandated an Inmate Work Incentive Program, Arts-In-Corrections was able to help prison officials come up with much-needed job slots for inmates who wished to subtract time from their sentences by working. Muralist Dick Crispo suggested that Soledad hire his advanced painting students to create murals for the institution and the surrounding communities. Within four months, the

Department had accepted his proposal and expanded the idea to create over 100 new jobs for inmates to produce public art and beautify their communities. Arts-In-Corrections could now offer inmates a rare opportunity to make a visible contribution to society.

At the same time, it was clear that Arts-In-Corrections needed more than good word of mouth to survive. In 1982, I began a series of discussions with Ellen Davidson, the director of the William James Association, about how we could gather hard evidence of the program's benefits and cost effectiveness. We decided on a cost-benefit analysis approach for two reasons. First, at the time, California's executive branch and legislature were more concerned with the budgetary bottom line than they were with any changes that might be occurring among inmates. Secondly, the small amount of funding available for the study dictated that we use the existing CDC information base. Upon examination it became clear that the Department's data lent itself best to cost-benefit research. We determined to find an independent researcher to conduct an objective evaluation of the benefits of this program.

The William James Association hired Dr Lawrence Brewster, a sociology professor from California State University at San Jose who had had previous successes designing research projects sensitive to both statistical and anecdotal evidence. He agreed to undertake a cost-benefit analysis of the Arts-In-Corrections program at four northern California institutions which represented the various custody levels and conditions under which the program operated. With the help of the Department of Corrections Research Unit and some members of a graduate research seminar, Brewster began reviewing participant records, program activities and other documents in order to compare the incidence and cost of disruptive inmate behaviour before and during participation in the arts program. He also focussed on the value of the institutional and community service artworks produced under Arts-In-Corrections auspices.

In 1983, Brewster published the results of his study. It showed that, in the four institutions reviewed, Arts-In-Corrections produced $228,522 in measurable benefits as compared with a cost to the Department of $135,885. He also found incidents of disruptive behaviour (for example, assaults, drug activity and other serious rule violations) dropped 75–81% among inmates who had participated in the program. It was exciting to gain such a strong validation of our initial theories and subsequent experiences. The arts projects were more than an inmate "goody": they could make a positive difference to the Department of Corrections and to the people of California.

A lot of people believe that artists are "flaky," public arts projects are a waste of taxpayers' money, and that works of public art are of the "my kid can draw a better picture than that" calibre. In view of this, we had thought it wise not to advertise Arts-In-Corrections' successes until it had solid support within the Department and the Legislature and a few years of well-organized and productive programming behind it. In the spring of 1983, buoyed by the findings of the Brewster study and secure in the support of legislators and departmental staff, we entered a new stage.

We had survived by keeping a low profile. Now we were presenting the program for public scrutiny. If we courted widespread public acceptance and wound up rejected, it would mean the end of our program. But it was worth it. The inmates' powerful, hard-earned artworks demanded a showing.

Arts-In-Corrections, the William James Association, and UCLA Artsreach agreed to co-sponsor a statewide visual art competition and exhibit of works from prison, slated for the spring of 1984. The California Arts Council, Joint Legislative Committee for the Arts, and Los Angeles Theater Works joined us along the way. Coordinator Carol Tatro and curator Katya Williamson mobilized artists and staffers and, in just five months, more than 600 two- and three-dimensional entries were judged, of which 120 works were selected, prepared for exhibit, transported, catalogued, and hung in the halls of California's Capitol building.

"Art from California Prisons" was an unqualified success. During the forty-five day run, over fifty thousand people saw the show and many more learned about the program through media reports or by reading the twenty-page catalogue that accompanied the show. The quality of the artworks was the program's best advertisement. The skill and vision revealed by the 120 assembled pieces converted many cynics into supporters.

On the opening day of the exhibition, the Joint Legislative Committee on the Arts held a hearing on the subject of art in social institutions. Here, and at the press conference that followed, the results of the Brewster report were presented and discussed. Senator Mello convened the meeting with these remarks:

> For members of our society who are confined physically or emotionally, access to the creative process through the arts provides a vital link to self-expression and self-esteem; to productivity and potency. The need for art is most evident when participation in other activities in life are limited. A senior citizen who faces an array of special needs and who is facing the loss of productivity he enjoyed earlier in life can be greatly impacted by

> an arts program. The same may be true of prisoners and hospital patients. Today we want to examine those State programs which bring art to the institutionalized populations. We hope to develop a better understanding of how the arts work in the institutions, the future of such programs and steps the Legislature might take to provide improved services.

The public affirmation gained in the early part of 1984 inspired the artists and encouraged Arts-In-Corrections' administrators. It also eased the way for expansion within the Department of Corrections. Although a $200,000 augmentation had increased the level of contracted services, the program's growth and success depended on adding civil service positions (in other words, Arts Program Coordinators). In its first three years, eighty percent of Arts-In-Corrections' activities had taken place in the six institutions which had Arts Program Coordinators. When the responsibility for organizing arts projects fell to regular prison employees (who were, typically, overworked and resentful of the additional burden), the program suffered.

In the winter of 1984, Senator Mello began a campaign to place Arts Program Coordinators at more Department of Corrections facilities. He started by proposing a $1 million increase of the Arts-In-Corrections budget. In ensuing negotiations, Senator Mello made it clear that the program was important enough for him to use his position on the Senate Rules Committee as leverage. This was of particular significance to the Department because the health of a recently initiated prison construction program depended upon the cooperation of Senator Mello and his colleagues. After months of meetings, memos and telephone calls, Arts-In-Corrections received a $375,000 budget increase. Part of the package was three new Arts Program Coordinator positions and a commitment by the Department to fund the establishment of an arts program at each of ten new prisons as they were completed.

It was as though we had been holding our breath for three years. We knew that ours was an excellent program, but the Department had grown dramatically and we had not expanded with them. With the addition of the three new civil service positions and the promise of arts programs at the ten new prisons, our future was as solid as we could ever expect it to be. We had room to breathe.

During the 1987–88 fiscal year, 41,000 hours of arts instruction were provided to 8,196 inmates by 256 professional artists sponsored by Arts-In-Corrections in fourteen institutions. Prisoners were learning painting, modern dance, Native American basketry, ensemble jazz, video production, juggling, papermaking, and improvisational acting. Inmates and outside professionals presented over 200 music, dance and theatre performances to a total audience of 30,415. Included were concerts or lectures by the Kronos String Quartet, B.B. King, Sarah Elgart Dance Company, Lorren Hollander, Carlos Fuentes, and Robert Bly. Arts-In-Corrections writing programs produced 26 chapbooks and anthologies, and Artswork crews completed 56 murals and 3 sculptures for their institutions and surrounding communities. Works of art created by inmates and their instructors in 1986 were exhibited in thirteen California cities (California Department of Corrections, Office of Community Resources Development 1988).

In August of 1987, Governor George Deukmejian appointed James Rowland as the new Director of the Department of Corrections. Having seen the program's products and heard its plans for the future, Director Rowland expressed his support.

> The mastery of arts skills requires patience, self-discipline and long-term commitment. These attributes are basic to an inmate's ability to function responsibly upon release .... Through programs such as Arts-In-Corrections we have a greater chance of making a productive citizen out of a probable repeat offender. Salvaging one felon means one more person who will commit no crimes, with no future victims and no future economic loss (CDC Arts-In-Corrections 1988a)

Statistics bear out this viewpoint. In 1987, over 50,000 inmates were paroled or released back into California communities (CDC Offender Based Information System 1988). These re-entry citizens spent an average of 3.5 years in California prisons at a cost of $19,452 per year (State of California 1988). Within 24 months of their release from prison, over 58% were returned to prison for committing a crime or violating the terms of their parole (CDC 1987). A 1987 study showed that rate of return reduced by 51% for parolees who had participated in Arts-In-Corrections programs while in prison (CDC Arts-In-Corrections 1988b). And the cost of this program? In 1986, Arts-In-Corrections spent approximately $19.21 for each hour of professional instruction it provided to an average class of 13 inmates (CDC Office of Community Resources Development 1988).

These figures gain even more significance when we look at the future of California's prisons. In January of 1989, the Department of Corrections housed 76,000 inmates in eighteen prisons. By 1990, there will be a projected 90,000 prisoners vying for space in overcrowded facilities. We estimate that Arts-In-Corrections' budget will grow from its current $1.4 million to approximately $2.5 million in 1990—less than one tenth of one percent of the Department of Corrections' projected annual budget.

Arts-In-Corrections has come a long way since Eloise Smith's first visit to Vacaville. In ten years, it has grown from a tiny pilot program in one prison to the largest institutional arts program in the world. Thousands of prisoners and parolees can now think of themselves as something other than a con, a thief, or an illiterate. They are redefining themselves and their attitudes, and words like "work," "commitment," "student," "beauty," and even "time," have taken on new meanings for them. There is now a place in prison where, in the words of one inmate, "You could forget where you were ... where the blacks and browns and whites put their 'shanks' aside and not mess it up for a change."

Sunset

Dan slaved hunchback on his knees, probed
the trowel, pried out a weed's intrusion,
admired his garden's order, rushed
to water.
The only emotion he understood was gratitude;
his expression of love, perfection.
He never learned
love is a lifestyle of forgiveness,
not a reward for things done correctly.

William K. Murphy

The three poems included in this article are all by prison poets working through the Prison Arts Project or Arts-In-Corrections program. The poems by Mr Woods and Mr Billingslea are from About Time II, *an anthology published by the Prison Arts Project, 1981. Mr Murphy's poem is from* Cafe Solo, *a collection of his poems published by Solo Press, 1988.*

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Advancing Adult Basic Education in Prisons

The Recruitment, Selection, and Training of Inmate Tutors

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This paper is addressed to members of prison literacy councils, education and training staff, inmate volunteer tutors, and adult educators on the outside, all of whom presumably share a strong commitment to fostering adult education within the prison community. This shared commitment is envisaged as a joint venture sustained by the essentially egalitarian intent of adult education. George Trevelyan's description of adult education as "friends educating each other" (cited in Davies 1971, 198) aptly represents the authors' orientation to the task of building a community-based literacy program in the face of the enormously difficult circumstances that characterize everyday life in contemporary penal institutions.

A further assumption is that, despite the very real frustrations experienced in and the barriers imposed by prison life, those involved in the program described here genuinely believe that a measure of worthwhile, non-coercive, rationally grounded adult education can be achieved through inmate literacy tutoring. The purpose of this paper is to deal with the recruitment, selection, and training of inmate tutors in prison literacy programs.

Until recently, the very notion of a community-based prison literacy program, run by inmate volunteers and receiving official support, would have encountered resistance. Only a few years ago, Kidd, the internationally renowned Canadian adult educator, had this to say at a national conference on prison education:

> An attitude towards inmates that is often displayed by the administration, and the rule that no inmate will be subject to another, has inhibited the widespread employment of counselling and teaching talents which are found in the inmate population. This is a subject over which the

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> educational forces might have some influence and impact, provided that they engage with the problem long and deep enough to be heard and to deserve hearing. (Kidd 1981, 59)

Growing recognition that some prisoners who can already read and write are willing to help tackle the vast extent of illiteracy in our penitentiaries means that prospects for the kind of engagement Kidd had in mind might now be actually at hand through the cooperative efforts of inmate-run literacy councils, prison educators, and adult educators on the outside.

Reasons for optimism, however, must not be allowed to delude concerned persons about the considerable difficulties entailed in building a community-based literacy program within the modern prison's excessively alienating environment. It is far from being an ideal location for the realization of Trevelyan's notion of adult education as "friends educating each other."

The challenge, then, is to create and sustain within this very restricting environment an adult education endeavour that will not be completely undermined by the multitude of frustrations and problems that are bound to arise. To this end, it might be wise to start by identifying typical problems and to take them systematically into account as part of the formal program development process. Inmates, education and training staff, and other prison personnel are acutely aware of how mechanisms of surveillance, the routine of the prison, and institutionalized behaviours all tend to restrict program initiatives; but this awareness is seldom, if ever, dealt with explicitly in educational program design.

Any new program initiative is likely to require some rearrangement of security measures to cater to changes in the regular patterns of inmate movement within the institution. This can easily give rise to official concerns about security that prevent or seriously impair program development even where, in reality, only a small measure of inconvenience is involved. Such concerns about security are sometimes reinforced by feelings among security staff that prisoners do not deserve ready access to worthwhile educational opportunities when they themselves, for one reason or another, find it difficult to further their education. For these reasons, it is necessary to develop a convincing rationale, or needs assessment, in justifying the new program and its special requirements to key individuals and representative groups within the prison staff.

In addition to demonstrating how the program might enhance, rather than disrupt, the good order of the institution, there should be an unequivocal and widely publicized statement about how it serves the interests of inmate participants. Not only is the program necessary to improve literacy and social competence, but it can be argued that ready access to it is a right. Even in these times when popular rhetoric calls for a harder-edged approach towards the treatment of prison inmates, there is still well-organized support for the notion that, in a just society, prisoners have rights that should not be denied them because of their criminal status. From this perspective, access to educational opportunities is to be regarded as a right, rather than a privilege, to be granted or wilfully denied. When necessary, prison educators need not be coy about invoking this principle on behalf of a worthwhile program initiative.

Even where there is widespread acceptance of the program, the immediate realities of prison life inevitably bring interruptions for which provision should be made at the outset. For example, the frequent departure of inmates from the program as they complete their sentences, or are transferred, can be appropriately anticipated by incorporating regular student assessment procedures. In this way, students who have to leave before completing a program of study will have an up-to-date record of their current proficiency. Further, it is not difficult to ensure that every departing inmate's future educational development is not impaired for want of specific information about relevant learning materials and alternative sources of tuition.

Programmatic anticipation of this kind would not, of course, eradicate the critical problems confronting educational endeavours in the prison (though it might head off some of them), but it would reinforce an expressed determination to prevent the inevitable everyday frustrations of prison life from unravelling the program.

Another important challenge in the program development phase centres on setting realistic goals and objectives. Given the virtually inevitable occurrence of frustrating problems that confront any formal educational initiative in prison, it is important to establish realistic criteria of success, especially in the initial stages. It is appropriate to set goals but, in the difficult circumstances of today's penal institutions, these should be flexible and framed in modest proportions. After all, in a setting where approximately forty percent of the population is deemed to be illiterate, no reasonable observer would deny that the task is immense. Getting underway with a sensible new initiative to tackle the problem is, in itself, one substantial mark of success. There is no call for establishing artificially high expectations at the outset. Indeed, given the resistance of prison authorities to the very idea of employing the teaching talents of inmates (Kidd 1981), official endorsement of an inmate-run literacy council may be reason enough for celebration. Certainly, the inmate literacy initiative ought not be drawn into the kind of correctional discourse that always seeks to justify program initiatives in terms of reduced recidivism rates, especially since these may be virtually impossible to establish on any meaningful basis (Collins 1986).

With the putting aside of any compulsion to invoke unreasonable criteria of success, it is possible to accentuate those aspects of the prison setting that are supportive without blowing them out of proportion. Clearly, the presence in one confined setting of a large number of illiterate adults holds out the prospect for offering them carefully focussed adult education programming. It can be of a kind that is not so readily accessible to most of them in the communities they come from on the outside. Ironically, and somewhat problematically for adult educators who place a high value on learning as a voluntary enterprise, imprisonment can become a very teachable phase in the life of an inmate. Some of the things that can be learned within the prison community are viewed as harmful to the interests of society at large (how to become more competent in carrying out criminal activities, for example), but literacy is officially sanctioned as a worthwhile endeavour (CSC 1987). Even prison staff who do not subscribe to the merits of developing adult education programs for their own sake will note their strategic utility in contributing to the "good order of the institution."

The prospects are quite promising, then, for recruiting to the program those who are, on the outside, among the hardest of "the hard to reach" (Beder 1980), and for affirming that an adult literacy initiative serves the wider interests of the prison community. According to a past and current president of the North American Association of Wardens and Superintendents, Jim O'Sullivan (1985), inmates give due respect to those aspects of the prison's administrative structures and locations that support worthwhile education and training programs, especially where they themselves have had a significant role in program development. This observation found confirmation in an unusual turn of events during the 1981 disturbances at Matsqui Penitentiary, Canada, which was devastated by a riot of arson and property damage. In the final phase, youthful rioters surrounded and contained in the library of the academic centre were persuaded by student inmates not to follow the near-tradition of burning the last place occupied. One student inmate subsequently reported on the convincing rationale presented to the rioters in the following terms:

> These books had done many a convict a good service by helping him to kill a few years and if left alone would continue to do the same in the future. That appeal presented by men they respected as convicts begrudgingly won them over. The academic centre was left relatively unscathed. (Whetstone 1981, 93)

The key to fostering this kind of engagement, involvement, and interest lies with the participation of inmates in the design and implementation of the educational program itself. The development of a literacy council and the use of inmate tutors can go a long way toward establishing this sense of "ownership." Literacy tutoring of inmates by inmates, in particular, can help nurture prospects for rational and caring communication within the prison population, creating a few opportunities for thoughtful civil discourse within a dehumanizing overall context. The important task of teaching another and learning from another on a one-to-one basis has the potential to bring about a non-exploitive "I-Thou" relationship (Buber 1958). In this situation, the tutor, too, is open to learning from the experience.

How the literacy council is structured will play a significant part in shaping the overall pedagogical process and perceptions of inmates about its function within the prison setting. The literacy council should be run by inmates. In the initial stages, its membership is likely to be made up of inmates who have already experienced some success in existing educational programs and now want to make some positive contribution on behalf of other prisoners. (Some of them might be looking forward to a career in one of the helping professions.) In the event that there are more than enough volunteers for positions on the council, an election should be held. It is important that the council does not become an elitist organization.

More than likely, a member of the education and training staff will be instrumental, in conjunction with inmate students, in getting the program and the literacy council underway. In any event, the council will benefit by retaining an education and training staff person as an ex-officio (non-voting) member and adviser. In addition, an early task in the formation of the council will be to identify, for the purposes of consultation, associate members from such organizations as the John Howard Society, local business and industry, government departments responsible for education and training, local colleges, and universities.

Once established, the literacy council should meet on a regular basis, and recognize the need to be accountable by ensuring that careful records are kept of all its proceedings.

From the outset, the literacy council will be confronted with the problem of attracting students to the program. In the case of a literacy tutorial program, the participation problem is compounded because members of the "target" group, quite understandably, do not want to be stigmatized as being "dumb" and in need of one of their peers to direct them. (The nexus of power relationships and the possibilities for exploitation are all too keenly perceived within the prison walls.) At another level, there will be a perception that here is yet another idea that merely helps to "keep the institution cool" or "contributes to the good order of the institution," in the argot of prison administration. Neither of these perceptions should be trivialized, especially since they are not altogether unwarranted. They have to be addressed.

In addressing them, emphasis should be placed on building the prestige of the program among the prison population during the early stages. Even with an adult basic literacy program, a definite impression can be conveyed that this is not a "Mickey Mouse" undertaking. As much as possible, the focus should be on teaching adult inmates how to read and write under what most reasonable observers will agree are very difficult circumstances. Though it is impossible to ignore entirely the correctional ethos that pervades the modern penal system, the program should avoid attaching itself to a "medical model" approach that still views prison education, narrowly, as a means to treating something called the "criminal mind."

This recommendation is informed by the maxim "offenders are sent to prison *as* punishment, not *for* punishment" (O'Sullivan 1983, 8). Ethical problems emerge for adult educators in a prison setting when their programs are accompanied by a "hidden curriculum," however much it is inspired by well-intended motives to reform or cure the individual. Such manipulation, through the curriculum, of adults serving judicially determined sentences may well, in fact, be unjust.

In the final analysis, obstacles faced by adult educators in the prison are not dissimilar to those experienced by colleagues working in those communities on the outside that would normally be home to many inmates. It is only that mechanisms of surveillance and control within prison settings render these obstacles as immediately apparent and more difficult to overcome (Collins 1987). For these reasons, an inmate-run literacy council becomes a significant teaching/learning context in which thoughtful adult educators on the outside can inform their own practice. This prospect is aptly set out for us in the following terms:

> Education in prison obliges us to determine once again the original meaning of educational activity, to rediscover the "other" and to re-learn

> to distinguish the essential from the urgent. The urgent is the solution of facility, that which "gives immediate results," that which correctional education has too often endorsed and followed in the past. The essential, in contrast, lies beyond what is profitable, beyond the universe of provision and nervous security, beyond what is fixed and sterile. The essential is based on giving. (Morin 1981, 20–21)

The unique aspect of the involvement of inmates in the literacy tutoring program described here is its reliance on formal structures, including the literacy council itself, the process of tutor recruitment, the selection of tutors, the training of tutors, and the formal evaluation of their work. This program goes far beyond the more common "call for volunteers" and attempts, instead, to bring to prison literacy education the same professionalism required in the larger community.

Recruiting of Inmate Tutors

Before a literacy council can actively recruit inmate tutors, it must analyze tasks to be performed, write job descriptions, seek potential sources of volunteers, and create strategies for recruiting them. This careful planning contrasts with a haphazard approach that would not only doom a particular program to failure, but seriously hamper the development of future programs.

Some tasks that might be performed by inmate tutors are shown in Table 1, which has been adapted from Ilsley and Niemi (1981). The figure also shows frequency of performance, importance of assigned task (scale ranges from 1 = high importance to 3 = low importance), and required expertise (high, moderate, and low).

To further assist the potential inmate tutor in making a decision and to assist in the recruitment process, each task shown in Table 1 can be subsequently analyzed into parts, or steps, as shown in Table 2. Here, the type of performance required to complete the task is presented. Mager and Beach (1967) suggest five kinds of performance:

1. *Discrimination*, or knowing the difference between two or more things, conditions, or events (such as student skill level).

2. *Problem solving*, or perceiving the solution to a problem (such as lesson design).

3. *Recall*, or knowing what to do based on experience or knowledge (such as knowing how to conduct a lesson).

TABLE 1. INMATE TUTOR TASKS

TASK PERFORMED	FREQUENCY OF PERFORMANCE	IMPORTANCE	REQUIRED EXPERTISE
1. Conduct initial interview of student and diagnosis of problems	Initial session	1	High
2. Identify student's goals and interests	Initial session	1	High
3. Determine placement in terms of reading skills	Initial session	1	Moderate
4. Select relevant materials	As appropriate	1	High
5. Choose methods and techniques	As appropriate	1	High
6. Select place to meet	Initially	2	Low
7. Set up schedule for meeting student	Initially	1	Low
8. Meet with student	Weekly	1	Low
9. Evaluate student's progress	Weekly	2	Moderate
10. Prepare periodic reports, including recommendations, on student's progress for literacy council	Monthly	3	Moderate
11. Attend training sessions	Monthly	2	Moderate

4. *Manipulation,* or having the ability to perform a task (such as actually conducting a lesson).

5. *Communication,* or knowing how to speak or write (such as communicating to a group).

The expertise column in Table 2 requires a judgement as to the nature and extent required, whether it is high, moderate, or low. This breaking down of tasks into smaller units helps the inmate-run literacy council to write job descriptions, recruit volunteers, and design the training that is needed for the tutoring role. In addition, this breakdown helps the prospective tutor to decide whether he or she is interested in the role.

In considering potential sources of volunteers, a literacy council can turn to several groups. Two obvious groups would be composed of persons who had been teachers on the outside and persons who hold degrees. However, it must be remembered that not all learning takes place in the formal setting of school or college. Some persons are self-directed learners who have consciously set about acquiring new knowledge and skills. Others have completed the GED and have a high level of intelligence. Still others have acquired new knowledge and skills by chance through the roles that they held in society prior to their incarceration. Another group that should not be overlooked consists of inmates who are presently holding service positions as researchers or librarians.

Strategies that a literacy council could design for recruiting tutors include notices on bulletin boards, information in newsletters and prison newspapers, and announcements over the public address system or via television. Perhaps the best strategy would be for literacy council members to talk personally with inmates on a one-to-one basis or in small groups, explaining the purpose of the program, answering questions, and inviting input from inmates. Also, literacy council members could seek assistance from prison officials in making announcements at sporting events, movies, dinners, and on other social occasions.

Selection of Inmate Tutors

The success of any inmate tutor program depends heavily upon obtaining the services of a caring and competent staff. The term "caring" encompasses not only empathy with fellow inmates, sensitivity to their needs, and patience with their problems, but also extends to the motives of the tutors. Are they motivated by a desire for what they perceive as

TABLE 2. EXAMPLE OF INMATE TUTOR TASK ANALYSIS

Conduct Initial Interview of Student and Diagnose Problems

STEPS IN PERFORMING TASK	TYPE OF PERFORMANCE	REQUIRED EXPERTISE
1. Obtain background information from student	Communication	Moderate
2. Explain tutoring process, answer questions, and address anxieties	Communication	High
3. Help student set goals	Communication	Moderate
4. Determine student's interests	Communication	Moderate
5. Prepare student for diagnosis	Communication	Moderate
6. Administer diagnosis	Recall	Moderate
7. Interpret results to student	Discrimination	Moderate
8. Set own goals for tutoring	Problem solving	High
9. Record all information	Communication	Low

prestige, or power over another? By a wish to make time pass more quickly? By social needs? By a desire for career rehearsal? Or are they motivated by genuine commitment to helping others?

"Caring" also signifies attention to detail and a predisposition to assess one's own performance, on a continuing basis, as the mentor in the educational transaction.

The personal qualities and the motives of an inmate should be explored by literacy council members during interviews as a panel or on a one-to-one basis with an inmate. Other topics of concern are the educational level of the inmate, the learning acquired through self-directed endeavours or through various roles held inside or outside the prison (experiential learning), the ability to read and write, and his or her interests. With inmates who have had teaching experience, the literacy council should ascertain its length and, in particular, its nature. Has such experience taken place with children or adults in formal settings or in informal settings of the community? If the experience has been with adults, did it involve learning disabled adults or undereducated adults in ABE, GED, or ESL classes?

While searching out these personal data, the interviewer must not fall into the trap of one-way communication that amounts to an interrogation of the prospective tutor. Instead, he or she should be encouraged to raise such matters as the required tasks, the expectations of the literacy council, and the time commitment; and to express any anxieties or reservations about the tutor role. The interviewer can allay some of those anxieties by giving specific information that indicates a clear sense of purpose or direction. Some inmates will find it reassuring to learn of the availability of adult educators to help them in tutoring. This approach, which will be discussed in the following section, promises a supportive climate in which the tutor does not feel alone.

Finally, it is important to realize that the interview is an initial exploratory session on both sides, not the final selection process. If the interviewer believes that the inmate is a suitable candidate for the tutor role, and if the inmate finds the prospect appealing, then the interviewer will invite the inmate to participate in orientation and pre-service sessions, where the final selection will be made.

Training the Inmate Tutor

ORIENTATION

An orientation session will precede the pre-service training. At that session, the prospective inmate tutor should be made aware of the composition, philosophy, goals, policies, and procedures of the literacy council; and its expectations relating to the tutor's role. Topics and issues that might be addressed at the orientation session include the following:

- The relationship within the prison system between the literacy council and the prison authorities.
- The population to be served.
- An overview of the tutor's responsibilities, which will be discussed in detail during pre-service training.
- The availability of facilities (e.g., meeting rooms and libraries) for the tutoring program.

- The availability of resources, including persons inside and outside of the prison, whose expertise can be depended upon to help in solving problems; materials such as the Laubach and Literacy Volunteers programs; and services for producing supplemental materials.
- The special privilege of mobility within the prison given to the inmate tutor.
- Benefits to the tutor such as recognition for fulfilling the role, personal satisfaction, and the possibility of achieving a full-time paid tutoring position within the prison. (The latter has become a reality in the New York prison system.)
- Benefits to the inmates being tutored—the ability to read and write will open training opportunities for them both inside and, later, on the outside. In turn, those opportunities could lead to jobs.
- Benefits to the prison system, perhaps in the form of better morale within the prison and reduced recidivism—although, as mentioned earlier in this chapter, these rates are almost impossible to chart.

PRE-SERVICE AND IN-SERVICE TRAINING

The pre-service training that follows the orientation session focusses on the learner and the combined subject matter (content) and learning process.

The learner. An important point regarding the learner is that he or she may be fearful of new learning because of a low self-concept that is frequently accompanied by low self-confidence. The causes are often complex. Some can be traced to the fact that many undereducated adults have lived outside the mainstream of society most of their lives. In their early years, they experienced constant failure and frustration in school, and they developed low expectations of success. Later, their expectations were further eroded by the loss or lack of employment, or the pressure to accept low-status, low-paying jobs. It should be added that, within their own cultural milieu, they have learned coping behaviours that have bolstered their self-concept. In dealing with the dominant society, however, especially in seeking and retaining jobs, they suffer from severe communication problems because of their limited vocabulary, due sometimes to a different cultural background in which English is a second language. The following illustration is drawn from the experience of Robert Ernest Myers, once described as the "meanest man in the Texas penitentiary":

> I don't have enough words at my command even to think with. After you use the 300 words you have, then you have nothing to do but react, and

> when I reacted it was always violent. It happened to me all my life; I was one big ball of emotion. And when my vocabulary was not such as to allow me to explain to anyone how I felt or was up against, the only thing I could do was to rap somebody alongside the head or start cussing. (Waugh 1971, 7)

A second communication problem relates to the so-called "public" language used by undereducated adults in their own groups. There it serves their needs admirably, exhibiting "a simplicity and directness of expression, emotionally virile, pithy, and powerful, with a metaphoric range of considerable force and appropriateness" (Bernstein 1961, 308). But this public language may be poorly understood, or even misunderstood, by members of the dominant society.

Despite the problems and frustrations of undereducated adults, it should not be assumed that they lack intelligence or are unteachable. As Fingeret observed, "Many illiterate adults possess common sense, an ability to abstract and analyze that often is downgraded by the larger society in favour of more scientific deductive logic" (Fingeret 1984, 14).

Learning process and content. As suggested earlier in Table 1, the learning process is highly individualized, suited to the needs of the learner and intended to further his or her progress. Each task described in that table can be divided into steps, as illustrated by the example in Table 2, and this procedure would be a valuable one for the literacy council to follow in designing pre-service and in-service training. An alternative approach taken by many prison councils has been the use of established tutor training programs. The two used most often in the prison setting are Literacy Volunteers of America (LVA) and Laubach. In the former, tutors are taught in six three-hour pre-service training sessions. The four basic reading techniques used by LVA tutors are language experience, sight words, phonics, and word patterns. It also includes sessions on the characteristics of the adult learner, assessing student skills, setting goals, planning lessons, and motivating students (Colvin 1987).

As with the LVA training, the initial Laubach tutor training of a ten-hour duration focusses on non-readers, principles for teaching them, and how to use the Laubach textbook materials (Laubach 1986). This approach is based on synthetic phonics (each letter sound is presented separately and then combined with other sounds to create words).

An interesting alternative to the established methods of Laubach and Literacy Volunteers of America is to be found in the Student Centered Individualized Learning program (SCIL) developed by Canada's

Frontier College. Although considerably more flexible in intent than other approaches to one-on-one volunteer literacy tutoring, the SCIL program is fully described in *The Right to Read* (1983). It offers straightforward suggestions about teaching strategies, topics of interest for adult learners, and relevant materials. Delivery of Frontier College's program is intensely personal in that content is built "with and from the students." Suggested topics, recommended materials, and illustrated examples are intended to enhance this process, which stands in contrast to pre-packaged programmatic orientations. Since Frontier College has been identified as one of the leading adult education agencies in the Solicitor General of Canada's widely publicized campaign on offender literacy (CSC 1987), its Student Centered Individualized Learning program merits serious consideration as a relevant approach to inmate tutoring by fellow inmates.

Whether the literacy council designs its own program or chooses among the three programs that have been discussed, it will boost the morale of tutors to know that help is available to them from adult educators both inside and outside the prison. This is especially important in the early stage with neophyte tutors who have had little or no teaching experience. As those tutors gain experience, confidence, and increasing sophistication in applying techniques and materials to the particular needs of their students, in-service education becomes important. Through workshops and demonstrations by adult educators, tutors can become better informed about the handling of specific problems, such as keeping the student's motivation high or finding alternatives for overcoming "blocks" to learning. Adult educators should also bring to the attention of tutors any new materials or techniques relevant to the prison setting. The contacts that tutors make with adult educators can be followed up in situations where tutors need to talk about special problems, such as a learning disabled adult.

Throughout this in-service education, the collaborative approach to learning should be stressed. Tutors who apply this shared, "friends educating each other" approach, which has been mentioned before, will not be tempted to adopt a superordinate-subordinate stance. Instead, they will encourage their students to take an active part in the planning and conducting of their own learning, and will see themselves as facilitators or resource persons. In fact, the tutors will find in this exchange that they, too, will have something to learn. Using this collaborative approach, the prison literacy system might not be able to overcome all the alienating conditions of prison life, but it might ameliorate them to some degree by introducing an element of hope and caring.

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A Transitional Education Program for Adult Female Offenders

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For almost a century society has been very successful in keeping female offenders out of sight and out of mind. Female offenders have been the forgotten ones. This has not occurred by accident. It has been easy to forget these women, to keep them out of sight, and out of mind. They have been relatively few in number, representing only four to five percent of the total offender population. And, for the most part, they have been incarcerated in correctional facilities located far from the mainstream of society. They have been relatively docile, compared to their male counterparts. Female offenders have not been known for staging riots, taking hostages, or burning down prisons.

After years of being out of sight and out of mind, a long overdue interest in the female offender surfaced in the 1970s. Concomitant with the national interest in equal rights and the development of the feminist movement, attention focussed on the plight of women in prison.

Profile of Adult Female Offenders

A study of incarcerated adult female offenders (Ryan 1984) reveals a bleak picture of a group of women in which ethnic minorities are overrepresented. Approximately 38% of the female offender population was black. Native American Indians were disproportionately represented. The number of Hispanics was roughly similar to the number of Hispanics in the general population. The women were young, two-thirds of the adult female offenders being under thirty years of age. The women were undereducated, both their functional knowledge and their formal education being below the national average. About two-thirds had not completed high school or attained high school equivalency; 14% completed only elementary school. These women tested at

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least two grade levels below the highest grade completed. It was not unusual to find women who could produce evidence of high school completion testing at sixth or seventh grade level.

Moreover, the women lacked job skills and had a history of unemployment or sporadic, low-paying jobs. The majority of adult female offenders accepted the traditional role of motherhood and aspired only to traditional female occupations. In general, they had very limited knowledge about occupations other than those traditionally filled by women. They relied on families, friends, acquaintances, and men to meet their needs. At least one-third were on welfare.

The General Accounting Office (1979b) concluded that economic reliance on public funds was only one thread in the web of dependency enveloping female offenders. Other factors contributing to dependency included a limited knowledge of homemaking, coping skills, birth control, and nutrition. They were also unskilled consumers. And female offenders generally were uninformed about social, medical, and educational opportunities.

The great tragedy is that the majority of female offenders do not to any great extent participate in educational and training programs intended to develop skills that would open new vistas for themselves and their children. There is little evidence to indicate that female offenders leave prison significantly changed from the way they were when they were sentenced. One inmate aptly summed up the situation like this: "I thought I could get rehabilitated here, but all I'm doing is mopping floors in the administration building, cleaning their toilets, and scrubbing the steps seven days a week. Do you think I can get rehabilitated here?"(Crites 1976, 115)

The Comptroller General of the United States, in the report *Women in Prison* (1980), found correctional administrators maintain a traditional view toward the training programs and other vocational needs of female offenders. Some administrators still assumed that women did not need to be self-supporting or that they were only interested in traditionally female jobs. This assumption is simply not true. A Department of Labor (1977) study found the majority of female offenders expected to support themselves and others after release.

Many female offenders tended to be single parents, responsible for dependent children. The General Accounting Office (1979b) found that 56% of female offenders were the sole supporters of their children. Whether they work, rely on men, or depend on welfare, these women have difficulty in maintaining an existence above the poverty level. And, when they turn to crime, female offenders generally commit victimless, nonviolent crimes. The General Accounting Office (1979b) reported that only 3.3% of all arrests of women were for violent crimes, and these generally were crimes of passion. Since the most widespread offences women commit are property crimes (Ryan 1984), this finding tends to support women's claim of economic need and accessory participation.

Needs of Adult Female Offenders

The profile of the female offender drawn by Glick and Neto (1977) and Ryan (1984) points to special needs of female offenders and ex-offenders. Over half the women in prison had dependent children. Separation from their children was a primary concern of incarcerated women. It was not uncommon for children of female offenders to be placed in foster homes, often resulting in breakdown of the family structure. In order to mend this structural breakdown, the female offender needs to be prepared to implement effective life skills and parenting skills when she is released. Thus, the demographic profiles drawn by Glick and Neto (1977) and Ryan (1984) point to critical needs for education and job skills.

Rock (1976) concluded that education and job opportunities were major concerns of women in prison. These women, primarily heads of households, ought to be equipped to support themselves and their dependants upon their release from prison. While both male and female offenders need to be able to obtain and maintain employment upon release from prison, there is a special need for women to be prepared for the transition from prison to the free world. This is due to the fact that opportunities for education, vocational training, career counselling, and job placement are sparse for women in prison, compared to incarcerated males.

Female offenders more often than not experience great emotional resistance and face many obstacles when making the transition from prison to the world of work in the free world. Studies indicate that, when female offenders have been able to acquire education and vocational training, they have been able to obtain employment and have become productive members of society (Wayson 1975; National Advisory Council on Vocational Education 1981).

It is clear that meeting the needs of the female offender for life skills, parenting skills, education, and vocational skills can help to ensure that these women will not return to the criminal justice system. It is also likely that, in prison, there will continue to be a disproportionate representation of women from lower socioeconomic levels and from ethnic minorities—unless steps are taken to break the barriers that prevent these women from making a successful transition from incarceration to society.

Education and Training in Prison

A General Accounting Office study (1979a) concluded that existing programs in prisons for women were fewer in number and aimed at lower paying jobs than was the case for male offenders. The study found the average of programs for males to be ten; for females, three. A 1984 national study of programs for female offenders (Ryan 1984) found little change. More than half the facilities for women in the United States had four or fewer vocational training options. The programs most commonly offered and with the greatest enrollment were office occupations, food service, and cosmetology. The General Accounting Office concluded that education and training to prepare female offenders for white-collar jobs have not been available for incarcerated female offenders. Neither has the vocational technical training been available to prepare them for the well-paying blue-collar jobs men typically fill.

Women in the general population are vastly under-represented in the job categories of computer specialists, electrical and electronic engineers, and electrical and electronic technicians (National Advisory Council on Women's Educational Programs 1979). While opportunities for employment in these job categories have been growing dramatically, opportunities for female offenders to train for these occupations were found to be very limited (Ryan 1984). The training programs available for female offenders are not designed to prepare female offenders for occupations in which economic advancement has been predicted. While the National Advisory Council on Women's Education Programs (1979) predicted an increase in opportunities for economic advancement for women in general, it is vitally important for female offenders to be afforded the opportunity to take advantage of those opportunities.

A ten-year study of female offenders in Michigan (Figueira-McDonough et al. 1981) found consistent inequities in programs and services for female offenders. Not only are there indications that the range and scope of programs available for incarcerated women may be limited, there is evidence to document limited participation by female offenders in the programs that *are* offered. A Comptroller General report (1980) found that most prisons provided basic courses. Some included several college-level courses, frequently in conjunction with nearby community colleges. Few offered the entire curriculum culminating in a two-year or four-year college degree. Educational programming typically left out inmates at the upper end of the academic scale. In a national study of correctional institutions for women (Glick and Neto 1977) it was found that only 7% of the offenders received job training in correctional institutions. In 1984, Ryan found only 11% of the total female offender population were enrolled in Adult Basic Education (ABE); 9% were enrolled in General Educational Development (GED) classes; 18% in vocational training; and 10% in post-secondary education. With these low participation rates, it is also important to recall that the vocational programs for incarcerated women have been traditional in nature and often geared to disappearing or obsolete occupations.

Male offenders have had apprenticeship programs and a wide range of vocational programs. These options have been limited for female offenders. Prison industries in many institutions are intended to provide a training and work environment, and, at the same time, provide the inmate an hourly wage. Access to prison industries has not been available equally to men and women. The Comptroller General (1980) found differences in industrial job opportunities in both state and federal correctional systems. For example, the study noted that one state offered only the garment factory for incarcerated women. Male inmates in the state had access to a dairy farm, furniture factory, glove factory, sewing machine repair, and industrial laundry. Ryan (1984) found nationwide only ten percent of the incarcerated women worked in prison industries. The most common industry for female offenders was sewing.

Most prisons for women require inmates to spend at least part of the day performing institutional maintenance. In many cases, this has been the only vocational training available to the female offender. Such unskilled jobs in support of the institution provide no job skills that will transfer to gainful employment (General Accounting Office 1979b).

Transition to the Community

The picture is bleak at best. At the time a woman is sentenced for an infraction of the law, she is at a disadvantage. She lacks education and job skills. She lacks life skills. She is not knowledgeable about good health and hygiene habits. She is dependent. She does not understand social responsibility and civic responsibility. More often than not, she has developed survival skills that are not socially acceptable.

She may be sentenced to prison, in which case she is most likely to face a situation in which the range and scope of programs are limited.

The odds are against her participating in educational or vocational programs. The sad truth is that the women released from prison more often than not pick up where they left off at the time they began serving their sentences in the nation's prisons. The female offenders on supervised release, including those on parole, probation, and work release, desperately need education and training to achieve a successful transition to the community in the role of productive, law-abiding citizens. Unfortunately, these women generally are not even aware of the education and training available in the community. The situation is further compounded by the fact that most of these women have a negative attitude toward school as they have failed in school before. On their own, they do not turn to education as the key to open the door to a better life for themselves and their children. They need assistance to guide them to educational opportunities and support to help them achieve the success for which they have the potential.

Why not make it possible for these women to contribute to the economic well-being of the nation and to be the kinds of role models who will inspire their children to become productive, law-abiding citizens? Critical to realizing this end is the need for an effective transition program to bridge the gap between where the women were—with limitations and constraints working against them—to where they could and should be as productive, law-abiding, contributing members of society.

It was in an effort to assist adult female offenders to make the transition from incarceration to life in the community that a model demonstration project was implemented in South Carolina from 1 December 1984 to 31 March 1987.

The Educational Support Program (ESP)

The ESP model demonstration program was supported by the Women's Educational Equity Act Program from 1 December 1984 to 28 February 1986, and by the Job Training Partnership Act from 1 March 1986 to 28 February 1987. The program model was the same for the duration of the project, with one exception. The grant from the Job Training Partnership Act included funding for special support services, such as child care and transportation.

Program purpose. The purpose of the Educational Support Program was to assist adult female offenders to make a successful transition from incarceration to life in the free world. The program provided assistance to adult female offenders to enable them to further their education, develop and enhance job skills (so they eventually would be able to support themselves and their dependants above the poverty level), and to improve their self-concepts and self-esteem. The program was designed specifically to address the special needs of adult female offenders and to be responsive to the unique conditions that contributed to the problems of transition from prison to free world for these women.

Program components. The primary components of the program were intake, education, support services, placement, and follow-up. Participants were referred to ESP by parole agents, after initial screening was completed by the agents at the parole office. Participants also were referred by the Women's Work Release Center, and one referral was from a halfway house. Following the referral to ESP, intake was conducted by the ESP Coordinator or Director. Intake consisted of diagnostic evaluation and assessment, development of an educational and career plan for the woman, and completion of a contract between the woman and ESP. During the intake process, special problems were noted, such as the need for eye glasses, lack of transportation, or other conditions that might interfere with participation in the education and support activities of the program.

The second component was education. Following intake, the woman was placed in an appropriate educational program, based on results of the assessment and compatibility with the education plan. ESP assisted the woman to obtain the necessary financial aid for the education program.

The third component was support services, which were considered essential in the program. Support was provided through intensive counselling and career guidance, tutoring, and referral to community agencies for assistance not available directly through ESP. Both individual and group counselling was provided. Individual counselling met the special needs of the women participating in the program. The Coordinator conducted weekly group counselling sessions, including sessions on values clarification, decision making, parenting, money management, leisure and recreation, communication, interpersonal skills, crisis management, legal issues and the law, and health and hygiene. Group sessions enabled participants to learn job search techniques, job-readiness principles, and on-the-job attitudes and performance. For example, participants learned how to fill out job applications, how to perform in the job interview, and how to make a proper follow-up call after the interview. They also learned how to write letters to employers to gain entrance to a job opportunity and how to write thankyou letters after a job interview. These sessions were designed especially to meet the transitional needs of adult female offenders in developing pre-job placement techniques, fostering good on-the-job attitudes and performance, and addressing special concerns for female offenders about job search and subsequent employment. One concern that was directly addressed was the question of reporting to the potential employer the details of having been convicted and sentenced for a crime.

Program goals. In order to address the needs of the adult female offenders participating in ESP, the program sought to achieve four major goals:

- Access to educational programs that would enable the participants to increase their educational achievement level. These programs included Adult Basic Education (ABE), General Education Development (GED), vocational/technical one-year and two-year certificate and degree programs, and four-year college programs.

- Necessary support services to enable participants to complete successfully the educational and vocational programs and to improve self-esteem and self-concepts.

- Experiences to facilitate the transition from an educational environment to the job market and successful employment.

- Follow-up to reinforce educational achievement and job placement for participants who completed the education program and those who were placed in part-time employment while continuing the education program.

The profile of participants is outlined in Table 1.

ESP Activities

Education and training. The Educational Support Program was designed to provide participants with Adult Basic Education (ABE), General Educational Development (GED), vocational/technical, and two-year or four-year college courses. The project operated from a university setting, implementing a consortium model involving liaison with and participation of local adult education, two-year colleges, technical schools, and the university. The model was designed so it could be replicated in a wide range of settings. The program could be

TABLE 1. PARTICIPANTS IN THE EDUCATIONAL SUPPORT PROGRAM

Number of participants. In the first year 60 adult female offenders were referred and 36 were enrolled. Eight participants in the program during the first year continued in the program. There were 38 referrals during the second year, for a total of 46 participants who were referrals or carryovers. Of the total 46 potential participants, 37 enrolled in the second year. Two of the 37 did not enroll in an educational program but participated in the support activities. Richland County Parole and Community Corrections, Lexington County Parole and Community Corrections, the Women's Work Release Center (a half-way house), and the US Probation Office referred women. Twenty-three women (62%) were on probation, 8 (22%) on parole, and 6 (16%) incarcerated. The first year 67% were on probation, 21% on parole, and 12% incarcerated.

Profile of participants. The demographic profile closely paralleled the demographic profile of female offenders reported in national studies (Glick and Neto 1977; Ryan 1984). Participants in the second year were similar to those in the first year.

Age. Seventy-three percent were under 30 years of age and 8% were between 31 and 40 years of age in the first year. In comparison, 60% of the participants were under thirty years of age and 32% were between 31 and 40 years of age in the second year.

Ethnic background. In the first year, 44% of the participants were black and 56% were white, compared with 46% black and 54% white in the second year.

Marital status. In the first year, 78% of the participants were unmarried, compared with 87% unmarried in the second year.

Dependants. Half of the participants had dependent children in both first and second years.

Personal income at time of referral. The women who participated in ESP were poor. Twenty-eight percent of the women reported having no income in the first year, compared to 46% with no income in the second year. Those who were employed reported incomes below the poverty level.

Offence. In the first year, 80% of the women had been convicted of property or drug-related crimes and 20% had been charged with crimes against the person. In the second year, 35% of the women had been convicted of committing crimes against the person, 38% had been charged with property crimes, and 27% had been charged with drug-related crimes.

Prior offences. In the first year, 58% of the women were first-time offenders, and 20% had only one prior offence. Two-thirds of the women enrolled in ESP the second year were first-time offenders and 5% had only one prior offence.

Education. In the first year, 33% of the women reported having completed high school or had a high school equivalency certificate. This compared to 35% who reported high school completion the second year. Also in that year, 49% of the participants had less than twelfth grade education and 16% had completed some post-secondary education. (There was a wide discrepancy between reported educational achievement and functional educational achievement as revealed by test scores. Only 7 out of the 37 women in the second year tested at the twelfth grade level. This is 19% compared to 35% who reported having completed the twelfth grade. Two-thirds of the women tested below twelfth grade level. Testing was incomplete for 16%.)

conducted by community agencies as well as educational institutions. It could be used in counselling centres or in conjunction with vocational rehabilitation programs. Active cooperation and participation of agencies in the community contributed to the success of the program.

Participants were enrolled in an educational program best suited to their needs and compatible with their educational plan. The test results along with previous educational achievements were the determining factors for placement in an educational program. Participants were enrolled in Adult Basic Education (ABE) and General Educational Development (GED) programs sponsored by Richland County School District I Adult and Community Education. Classes for these programs were held at the Logan Education Center. Participants also enrolled in vocational and technical programs of study at Midlands Technical College. Upon successful completion of the required courses, participants qualified for a one-year certificate, a two-year certificate, or a two-year degree. Participants could also enroll in a cosmetology school. Credits earned in the community college programs could transfer to other institutions. Participants with the necessary qualifications could be enrolled in the university.

The Project Coordinator or Staff Assistant went to registration with each participant, and walked them through the registration process. ESP staff made appointments for participants' registration and made sure that all registration procedures were followed and all requirements satisfied. This was an important part of the project, as the women were very apprehensive about going back to school and were awed by the complicated process of registration. Usually registration entailed going to several locations and completing many forms. Without the assistance from ESP staff, most of the women would have given up. Participants were enrolled in an educational program best suited for their needs. The results of the Wide Range Achievement Test, along with previous educational accomplishments were the determining factors for placement in an educational program.

Financial aid. The Educational Support Program assisted the participants in completing and processing the necessary forms and applications required to receive financial aid to pay for books, tuition, fees, and expenses. Financial assistance to support the participants' education was obtained primarily from Pell Grants and College Work Study Program funding. In addition to processing financial aid requests, the Education Support Program obtained registration fee waivers for participants enrolled in Adult Basic Education and General Educational Development. Admission fees were also waived for participants attending the technical community college. In the second year, funds were provided to assist with child care, transportation, and other special needs. The Program Director and Coordinator worked directly with the staffs of the different participating schools to obtain the special waivers.

Counselling. Participants in the Educational Support Program were required to attend weekly group counselling sessions and pre-job placement sessions. The group counselling sessions were conducted by the Project Coordinator. The topics were selected to address the special needs of the participants in the program. The Director conducted individual counselling with participants having personal problems.

Tutoring. A tutoring program was implemented for those participants in need of such assistance. Graduate students and the Coordinator provided tutoring in English, reading, spelling, basic and advanced mathematics. Progress reports from instructors were used to alert ESP staff to the need to tutor participants in a particular subject. Participants attending the technical college also were enrolled in tutoring classes there.

Job placement. A job bank was compiled and maintained to provide leads to employment for participants. Referrals were made for part-time employment while participants were in school. Follow-up assistance with job placement was scheduled for participants upon completion of an educational program. The Coordinator was prepared to provide this assistance to participants. The pre-job readiness program was conducted by the Coordinator to prepare participants for the transition to the world of work.

Other services. Participants requiring special assistance and services were referred to appropriate community agencies, if the assistance or service was not directly available from ESP.

Program Evaluation

The program was evaluated at the end of each of the two years to assess its effectiveness in helping adult female offenders make the transition back to the free world. The program evaluation included assessment of education and training, financial aid, counselling, tutoring, placement, and community linkages. The assessment of education and training was made by considering the number of enrollments and the completions or withdrawals.

Enrollment and completions/withdrawals. In the first year, 36 women were enrolled in education and training programs. Of the 36 enrolled, 17 were in ABE or GED; 14 were in vocational/technical or two-year college programs; and 5 were in four-year college courses. In the second year, 35 women were enrolled in education and training, with 13 in ABE or GED and 25 in vocational/technical programs. Three women had dual enrollments, in GED and vocational. There were thus 38 enrollments, including the 3 dual enrollments.

At the end of the first year, 13 participants indicated their intention to continue with their educational programs. In fact, only 8 actually did continue into the second year. During the second year, three participants successfully completed the GED preparatory course and passed the high school equivalency test. None of the participants completed a vocational program. At the end of the second year, 20 of the 37 participants indicated the intention to continue in their educational programs.

Of the 13 who enrolled in ABE or GED in the second year, there were 3 completions and 8 withdrawals, including one positive withdrawal and 7 negative withdrawals. Two planned to continue in ABE/GED. Of the 25 enrolled in vocational/technical or two-year college programs, there were no completions, 2 positive withdrawals, 5 negative withdrawals, and 18 indicating the intention to continue and complete their educational programs.

Reasons for positive withdrawals were health, relocation, and employment. Reasons for negative withdrawals were lack of child care, lack of transportation, and lack of income.

Financial aid. Financial aid was obtained in the amount of $42,781 in the second year. This was over seven times as much financial aid as was available the first year. In the second year, ESP had grant funds to assist with transportation and child care in addition to the education expenses.

Counselling. All of the partipicants in the program received counselling and weekly group counselling support. In the first year, 7 participants also received career counselling; 32 participants had career counselling the second year.

Tutoring. The tutoring program was larger in the first year. Sixteen of the 36 participants were tutored the first year compared to 7 in the second year.

Placement and follow-up. The participants in the Educational Support Program received assistance with placement in part-time employment while they were going to school. A job bank was maintained by the Coordinator to direct participants to job search efforts. Placement and follow-up were planned as a continuing part of the program, as participants were ready for full-time employment.

Community linkages and resources. Community linkages were maintained throughout the project, and community resources were developed and utilized to enhance the likelihood of assisting the participants. Referrals were made to community organizations for problems that ESP could not address directly, such as visual impairments, dental care, furniture, living expenses, clothing, and auto repair.

Summary and Conclusions

At the end of the first year, one-third of the participants planned to continue their educational programs. At the end of the second year, 20 out of 37 (54%) planned to continue and complete their educational programs. In the first year financial aid was provided only for educational expenses (i.e., tuition, fees, books, and supplies). In the second year, in addition to money for educational expenses, ESP provided money to assist with child care, transportation, and other problems that would interfere with successful completion of educational programs.

The program was designed as a model demonstration project to assist adult female offenders make a successful transition to the free world, to the extent that they would be able to be productive, contributing, law-abiding members of society. The program addressed the educational and vocational needs of these women, and sought to enhance their self-esteem and self-concepts by addressing their needs for parenting skills, decision making, values clarification, leisure and recreation, health and hygiene, money management, and, in general, life skills.

The program content in the first and second years was the same, with the exception of additional funds provided in the second year to participants for child care, transportation, and special needs. It would appear that this additional support was a critical factor insofar as program success was concerned. The women in the program often reported being unable to go to school because of lack of transportation or the need for child care. The project required at least one additional year to be able to demonstrate unequivocally that the model was successful. Most of the women at the end of the second year still needed one or two more semesters to complete the academic programs in which they were enrolled. At that point, they would be ready for full-time employment in jobs paying well above the poverty level. The participants were enrolled in programs such as word processor, dental technician, medical assistant, auto mechanic, cosmetician, nursing, and other similar courses of study that would provide an entry to a career ladder. The potential for success was indicated by the fact that the women needed significantly less support in the second year, as compared to the first year. This was particularly evident in the decreased personal counselling and decreased tutoring.

The ESP model has the potential for replication with adult female offenders, including those who are incarcerated and those on supervised release. There is every reason to believe that this model will provide a viable means for assisting these women to make a successful transition to society. It is not possible to say with certainty that there is a link between ESP and successful completion of parole or probation. It should be noted that out of 73 women who participated for 6 months or longer, 3 were charged with technical parole violations, 2 with both a technical violation and a new offence, and one with a new offence. Out of 73 women, *67 did not have a parole revocation*. This well could be an indication of at least beginning to make the transition and becoming law-abiding members of society. It can be assumed that as the adult female offenders improve in self-esteem and develop healthy self-concepts, increase their educational achievement, and develop marketable job skills, they will be less likely to resort to crime. These women have the potential for being productive, contributing, law-abiding members of the community. The ESP model may well be a key that opens the door for them to make that transition and realize their potential.

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PART V

An Emerging Discipline

CURRENT RESEARCH AND SPECIAL TOPICS

PART V

An Emerging Discipline

CURRENT RESEARCH AND SPECIAL TOPICS

One of the most exciting aspects of being involved in correctional education in recent years has been the growth of creative and innovative research efforts in this still emergent field of study and endeavour. This section of the *Yearbook* features examples of current research, research "in progress," and research projects related closely to correctional education. As the field matures we should expect dramatic expansion in the type of research undertaken and a continued improvement in the quality and sophistication of research efforts. The papers in this section are only a sampling of the kinds of research projects currently underway.

Mark Hamm and his colleagues have some surprising results in their review of "The Impact of Television on Prison Order." While this paper does not relate directly to education (for instance, it is not concerned with the use of television in the classroom), order within the prison environment is a basic requirement for effective educational programming. As well, television, like visits and access to programs, is an integral part of institutional management and, in that context, may be seen as connected with education programs. Sensitive to the role of administrators, the different effects of level of security, and the complex social realities of prison society, the research presented here points the way towards further study of the use of television and of prison management in general.

"Evaluating the Effects of Vocational Education on Inmates" in New Mexico by Elizabeth Downes, Kathryn Monaco, and Sheila Schreiber is an excellent example of evaluation research in an early stage of its development. Because accountability is an obvious watchword in correctional education, we must look seriously at efforts which attempt to provide empirical evidence of program effectiveness. We can look forward to replication of this study in New Mexico and elsewhere.

Correctional education is traditionally understood to encompass the education of inmates/prisoners and *not* to include the education or training of correctional staff. Despite this, we were persuaded to include Darrell Ross's paper "Educational Requirements for Correctional Officers: Standards for Entry and Promotion." We need to remind ourselves and our readers of this parallel educational activity and, at the same time, to keep in focus our colleagues in the prison. If correctional education is to prosper within the world of corrections, we can only hope that Ross is correct in his prediction that the corrections managers of the future will be more highly educated and thereby sensitized to the value of education.

Finally, we are very pleased to include Katherine Larson's "Problem-Solving Training and Parole Adjustment in High-Risk Young Adult Offenders" in this edition of the *Yearbook*. Larson is on the "cutting edge" of thinking and programming in the area of social problem solving and correctional education. Here she reports a dramatic drop in the rate of recidivism, supporting the hypothesis that "social problem-solving skills mediate behaviour in high-risk offenders." Larson's solid research results and other similar outcomes provide the basis for the growing popularity in Canada and the United States of cognitively-based correctional education.

The Impact of Television on Prison Order

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Prison research has traditionally evaluated corrections under the assumption that prison can somehow rehabilitate the offender. Yet relatively few studies have sought to describe corrections under the assumption that prison must somehow provide security for an offender while he or she is in custody. Research that effectively exposes organizational conditions that contribute to prison security may be more important now than ever before. Indeed, prison crowding is frequently cited by public officials and analysts as the most critical problem facing American criminal justice today.

The present research endeavours to identify the ways in which television may be implicated in the orderly management of contemporary corrections. Recent events occurring within the Arizona Department of Corrections caused us to undertake this project in the hope of determining whether television is a luxury or necessity for prison inmates. Through a national survey of prison wardens, our findings suggest that television plays only a moderate role in the administration of corrections, and it constitutes a luxury in minimum- and medium-security facilities where inmates are allowed to watch unlimited amounts of TV on personally owned sets. Yet the data also reveal that television appears to be a necessity in maximum-security prisons where inmates watch limited amounts of TV on state-owned sets which are highly regulated by staff.

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The Impact of Television

Shortly after he took office as Governor of Arizona, Evan Mecham toured the State's prison system for the first time. Upon leaving one medium-security facility he commented to the warden, "Things seem to be going pretty well, but why are inmates allowed to watch television?" The warden responded that television helped him maintain institutional control. "It seems like a luxury to me," countered the Governor. This interaction caused the warden to speculate that Mecham might issue an administrative decree forbidding the use of television by Arizona inmates. (The warden had good reason to suspect such decision making. After all, this governor had rescinded Martin Luther King Day in the state, defended the use of "pickaninnies" to describe black children, and had argued that a school teacher has no right to contradict a child who for religious reasons believes the Earth is flat.)

The literatures of criminology, criminal justice, and communications provide little evidence to guide this debate over the use of television in prison. Much of the previous research has concentrated on television program preferences and perceived gratifications of inmates, and its utilization in correctional treatment (Balon 1978; Goetting and Howson 1983; Haines 1955; Halloran et al. 1969; Menzies 1971; Reed 1978; Roberts and Coffey 1976; Rubinstein and Sprafkin 1982; Sommers 1975). While a few valuable lessons have been learned, this body of research fails to answer the fundamental question posed above: Is television a luxury or a necessity for confined persons? Accordingly, the present study attempts to demonstrate empirically the value of television in prison by exposing the organizational conditions under which inmate use correlates with a push toward institutional order.

Order is a dominant concern among both prisoners and staff in contemporary corrections (Abdul-Mu'Min 1985; Duffee 1980; Hepburn 1987; Logan 1988; Wenk and Moos 1972) and can be conceptualized along both objective and subjective dimensions. Objectively, a prison is orderly if there is little or no violence—assaults, rapes, riots, murders, and so on. Subjectively, a prison is orderly if institutional life is mostly calm, stable, and predictable (Dilulio 1987). Now, the present research uses subjective measures of prison order because these indicators are relatively free from the differing definitions and varying amounts of information on given measures of "prison disorder," and other errors that plague more objective investigations. Through a nationwide survey of state prison wardens, the major finding revealed by the data is that television has only a moderate impact on institutional order.

However, the data also indicate that television has an increased effect on prison order under specific organizational conditions.

Television and Prison Management

Few attempts have been made to examine television in prison from a management perspective. Most of the literature focussing on this issue relies on qualitative evaluations of staff and inmate perceptions, and appears to be divided on the role that television plays in satisfying security objectives of correctional administration. For instance, Jackson and Christian (1980, 217) found little evidence of a correlation between prisoner behaviour and television use in their study of death row where an inmate reports:

> Death row is oppressive. There's a feeling of helplessness. You're locked up. You have no recourse. There's no appeal. You're there and there's nothing you can do about it. There are very few diversions. The diversions that are available are distasteful—I don't care for TV.

Similarly, an inmate looking onto death row observes:

> TV would be the last thing I'd ever be interested in if I was in there with that penalty. If I wanted to stay around a while and have some longevity, I'd have my nose against that book page or something. (Jackson and Christian 1980, 212)

Indeed, some research suggests that television use may actually contribute to prison disorder. In a survey of forty-five inmates confined to a Georgia work camp, Austin (1974) discovered that inmates who occupied dominant positions within the prisoner subculture were in less congested living areas and had a clear view of the television. As a result of this arrangement, Austin noted an increased aggression between inmate "ranks" over the occupancy of positions closest to the TV set. Likewise, Flanagan and Nerenez (1976) found that increased prison populations made already scarce resources (including TV sets) even more scarce. These workers concluded that the availability of scarce resources is linked to prison disorder. Their findings square with an observation made by Jackson and Christian (1980, 213).

> The only trouble I ever got into was I got into an argument over the television. We have a problem here with the television—and this is not necessarily a racial statement, but the situation is that the blacks believe they have a right to watch all black programs and all rock music programs.

> That is fine, I can understand that. But they hate western music. There was a three-hour western special coming on. Very seldom is any western music on anyhow except "Hee Haw." And me and my friend had been looking forward to it for weeks and weeks and weeks.
>
> It happened March 8, 1978, to be exact. There was a rerun of these James Bond movies, we saw it four times before, and then there was this three-hour country western special. The blacks started beating on the wall that they didn't want to hear no goddamn country-western music, so they flipped the TV over to that damned rerun movie. It was the first time I ever lost my temper. That damned television, if I had my way, I'd take them all and drop them all from the top floor. Because they're more trouble than they're worth.

On the other hand, some evidence suggests that TV often reminds prisoners of their familiarity with the outside world, which in turn functions as a locus of control. The following examples provided by Lindlof (1987, 187) highlight this effect of television on prison inmates.

> You know, you wake up in the morning and you can hear Marvin Gaye or somebody belting it out. Shoot, that brings you back, that's home. Anything you can identify with the streets, you take advantage of in here.
>
> I always had a TV at home, you know what I mean?... And I figured if it was something I was allowed to have, I'd have it. I'd provide myself of something they said I could have which might be a little bit of a comfort to me, a little bit nicer.
>
> The TV takes me up a lot more time and space if just psychologically, particularly the space. It just makes the cell look so much better with it in there.

The notion that television serves to control prison populations is found in research conducted by the National Institute of Corrections (NIC). In their nationwide study, NIC (1985, N-7) recommended that long-term offenders be given single cells and the privilege of owning a television set. They advised that such a policy "helps to reduce stress and maintain calmer environments which in turn helps to preclude disruptive behaviour." Lindlof (1987, 182) also discovered strong administrative support for television because "TV seems to attenuate some of the debilitative effects of incarceration." As one prison warden concluded, "TV is entertainment, it's an activity, and it keeps boredom from coming in, and consequently it aids in the overall good order and adjustment of the institution." Finally, Dilulio (1987) argues that the lack of prison "amenities"—hot coffee, clean cells, good food, ample recreation, and colour television—played a significant role in the conditions that led to increased violence and disorder within the Texas Department of Corrections between 1983 and 1986.

On balance, four tentative conclusions about television and prison order can be drawn from this narrow body of research. First, it appears that who decides television programming is more important than the actual programming itself. Again, Jackson and Christian (1980, 210) note:

> One correctional officer told us that the hardest part of his job was selecting TV shows. We asked about the physical work, the danger, the occasional flare-ups. "No," he said, "It's picking the TV programs."

Second, television appears to breed disorder when a single set is shared by a group of inmates in a "public" setting.[1] Third, while several studies of television in prison suggest a marginal impact on order, others show that restricting the use of television may mitigate against order. Or, as an inmate noted in Jackson and Christian's (1980, 212) study: "To me, TV is not a very big deal, but to some it's the biggest deal in the world." Fourth, no one has performed a policy analysis of television in prison. Hence we know little about the various ways in which TV can be used to induce order among inmate populations.

Our paper is primarily concerned with these four conclusions. Unlike prior work, the analysis will focus on prison wardens—a group mostly neglected in prison research (Toch 1985). This decision was grounded in our belief that television's implication in the push toward prison order will be encapsulated in formal policies and administrative attitudes toward TV. The major research hypothesis is explicitly epidemiologic: a liberal use of television in prison will contribute to institutional order. This means that television use will correlate with order when the following conditions are met:

1. Inmates are allowed to own personal TV sets.
2. TV viewing is allowed in individual cells, rather than in "public" areas of the prison only.
3. Inmates are provided optional scheduling.
4. Inmates are not financially assessed for television use.
5. Television is used as a treatment medium.
6. Television is used as a right and not as a privilege.

As a corollary to these hypotheses, we might expect the liberal use of television to be related to inmate viewing habits and a warden's concern for television—both of which may have an impact on the extent to which wardens value television in prison. Lastly, if a liberal use of television does contribute to institutional order, then we might expect administrators of highly populated and crowded prisons to recognize this and adopt more liberal policies than wardens of less populated and less crowded prisons. In turn, we would expect officials of large, crowded institutions to express a greater concern for television because their inmates are more attentive to TV than prisoners in less populated and "uncrowded" institutions.

Data and Methods

Prison wardens were selected for participation in this study based upon proportionate sampling techniques (Fitzgerald and Cox 1987). Selection was stratified by prison custody level and "ideological jurisdiction." That is, wardens of minimum-, medium-, and maximum-security prisons were randomly selected on the basis of a variable created to measure the conditions of confinement—or the humaneness—of a state correctional system. Three conceptualizations were used in which the first jurisdiction represented state prison systems where one or none of its adult institutions were under court order to improve conditions, the second jurisdiction represented states where at least two but not more than five prisons were under court order, and the third jurisdiction represented states where more than five institutions were under court order. The size of the random sample drawn from each "jurisdiction" was adjusted so that the proportion of prisons examined was equal to the proportion of all prisons within that jurisdiction (see American Correctional Association 1986, xxii). Based upon these procedures, questionnaires were mailed to ten percent of the state prison wardens in America ($N = 132$), and seventy-two percent ($N = 97$) were returned, which Babbie (1986, 221) would rate as "very good." Questionnaire items were selected based upon a review of the literature, our own experiences in the profession, and a pilot test in which selected wardens were asked to comment freely on the appropriateness of the items.

The Dependent Variable: The Impact of Television

The impact of television on the order of the ninety-seven prisons was operationalized in terms of a warden's response to a single question. Each warden was presented with choices ranging from 0 to 10 and was asked to complete the following, "In terms of actually reducing inmate disciplinary problems in your institution, the leisurely use of television has ... ?" Scores of 0 represented "no impact" and scores of 10 signified "tremendous impact." Admittedly, responses to this question (and others discussed below) constitute a hypothetical or latent variable rather than an immediately observable variable. Therefore, responses to this question do not represent a criteria that constitutes "television and prison order" in an absolute sense. Data on the individual viewing habits of inmates, prison disturbance rates and their interaction with formal policy is necessary to complete this research paradigm. However, answers to the present question do provide a relative indicator of official attitudes toward television and prison order which has been ignored in previous studies.

The Independent Variables: Television Policy, Concern for Television, Inmate Viewing Habits, and Management Problems

Nine items were used to examine television policy. Five measures produced information on inmate ownership of personal televisions, the restriction of television to public areas, the availability of optional scheduling (cable, satellite, and public television), the financial assessment of prisoners using or viewing state-owned televisions, and the use of television as a means of providing treatment for inmates. Three measures were used to evaluate the extent to which television was controlled by prison staff. First, wardens were asked to rank the extent to which staff used television as a privilege. Second, one question produced information on the extent to which staff limited channel scheduling for leisure viewing. Third, wardens were asked, "To what extent does your institution use television as a device to maintain orderliness and occupy inmates' idle time?" For each of these questions, wardens were given choices ranging from 0 ("no extent") to 10 ("a great extent"). The final policy item was a percentage of inmates who owned or possessed television sets for their leisure viewing.

Inmate viewing habits were assessed by responses to two questions. Wardens were asked first to estimate the percentage of inmates who viewed television in excess of forty hours per week. This was followed by a question which produced information on the average number of hours per week that a "typical" inmate watched television. Two other items were used to tap a warden's concern for television in prison. They were asked, "By what percentage should your operating budget be increased to provide the leisurely use of television in your institution?" and, "How often do you discuss the leisurely use of television in your 'management team' meetings?" Choices on the first question were expressed in percent of increase, and choices on the second question ranged from 0 ("never") to 10 ("very often"). Finally, two questions were asked about prison conditions in an attempt to understand management problems. Wardens were first asked to state their institutional population, and then they were asked to indicate whether their prison was under court order to reduce overcrowding.

Findings

Preliminary findings are presented in Table 1 where means and analyses of variance provide information on all variables for each of the three custody levels. The data reveal a striking uniformity. It appears that the use of television and its effect on prison order are essentially the same in the ninety-seven prisons. The data indicate that prisons are different in only one respect. Maximum-security facilities have larger populations than either medium- or minimum-security institutions, and medium-security prisons are more populated than minimum-security facilities. The data also suggest that there is no difference between custody levels regarding the problem of prison crowding.

More important to the issue at hand, Table 1 shows that wardens perceive television as having a moderate impact on prison order. They also appear to be relatively unconcerned about the use of television in their institutions. As a group, they recommend less than a ten percent increase in funding for the leisurely use of television in prison budgets, and they infrequently discuss TV during management team meetings.

Turning to the policy variables, 56% of the prisons allow inmates to own personal TV sets. However, the data also show that 70% of the institutions restrict television viewing to "public" areas of the prison only. Taken together, these findings suggest that the personal ownership of a television by an inmate does not necessarily mean that the TV set is located in the prisoner's cell. Put another way, it appears that a number of inmate-owned televisions are being shared with other prisoners in "day room" or recreation areas of the various institutions. While 70% of the facilities restrict television viewing to public areas, the practice of financially assessing inmates for watching or using these sets is rare. Also, the educational use of television is available in over half the prisons. Regarding the control of television in prison, Table 1 shows that TV is used as a privilege in most institutions (staffs clearly use television as a device for maintaining orderliness), yet few limits are placed on viewing for those inmates who have access to a television set.

TABLE 1. DISTRIBUTION AND DIFFERENCES OF TELEVISION IN PRISON BY CUSTODY LEVEL: PRELIMINARY FINDINGS

		CUSTODY LEVEL			
	TOTAL $\bar{x}$	MINIMUM ($N = 35$) $\bar{x}$	MEDIUM ($N = 31$) $\bar{x}$	MAXIMUM ($N = 31$) $\bar{x}$	F-RATIO
I. IMPACT ON ORDER	4.92	5.20	4.58	4.96	0.36
II. CONCERN FOR TELEVISION					
A. RECOMMENDED BUDGET INCREASE FOR TELEVISION	9.05%	12.0%	7.3%	7.3%	0.51
B. FREQUENCY OF MANAGEMENT TEAM DISCUSSIONS ABOUT TELEVISION	1.97	2.20	1.41	2.29	1.74
III. TELEVISION POLICY					
A. INSTITUTIONS PERMITTING INMATES TO OWN TELEVISION SETS	56.7%	55.1%	55.1%	60.0%	1.50
B. INSTITUTIONS RESTRICTING TELEVISION USE TO PUBLIC AREAS	70.1%	70.5%	70.1%	69.7%	0.22
C. INSTITUTIONS ALLOWING OPTIONAL SCHEDULING	67.0%	66.1%	67.1%	68.1%	1.53
D. INSTITUTIONS ASSESSING INMATES FOR TELEVISION USE	6.2%	6.7%	5.4%	6.2%	1.86
E. INSTITUTIONS USING TELEVISION AS AN EDUCATIONAL MEDIUM	54.6%	55.5%	51.0%	57.3%	0.92
F. TELEVISION USED AS A PRIVILEGE	5.60	5.00	5.93	5.93	0.84
G. CHANNEL SCHEDULING LIMITED	2.58	2.39	2.22	3.16	0.61
H. TELEVISION IS USED AS A DEVICE TO MAINTAIN ORDERLINESS	6.25	6.20	6.45	6.12	0.11
I. PERCENT OF INMATES WHO OWN TELEVISION SETS	56.7%	55.1%	55.1%	60.0%	1.50
IV. INMATE VIEWING HABITS					
A. 40+ HOURS PER WEEK	39.7%	43.1%	36.3%	39.3%	0.42
B. AVERAGE HOURS PER WEEK	30.19	31.37	28.26	30.75	0.42
V. MANAGEMENT PROBLEMS					
A. POPULATION	999	665	968	1365	16.57*
B. UNDER COURT ORDER TO REDUCE CROWDING	33.3%	21.0%	31.3%	47.0%	1.37

* $p < .001$

Likewise, moderate control over optional scheduling is noted. Sixty-seven percent of those inmates who watch television have access to cable, satellite, and other viewing options.[2] The last policy item indicates that 56% of the prisoners in the ninety-seven institutions own personal TV sets. Interestingly, exact distributions are noted on the item measuring percentage of prisons allowing television ownership. Collectively, Items III a, b, and i in Table 1 suggest that where inmates are allowed to own a television set, they will do so—despite policies which forbid the use of TV in individual cells. Finally, Table 1 discloses that inmates watch television slightly more than their free-world counterparts.[3] Wardens estimate that nearly 40% of the prisoners under their custody watch more than forty hours of television per week, and the typical inmate watches an average of thirty hours and eleven minutes per week.

In sum, Table 1 suggests that concern for television among wardens, television policy, inmate viewing habits, and crowding are similar across prison populations. The data also reveal that television has only a moderate impact on prison order. However, sizeable variance was discovered on this measure.[4] While nearly 23% of the wardens felt that TV contributed significantly to prison order, another 22% felt that it had only a small impact. Although not statistically significant, this wide variance does invite an examination of organizational characteristics that may be operating to shape individual perceptions about the value of television in prison. The remainder of our paper attempts to reconstruct these conditions as they are assessed by wardens, thereby testing the hypothesis that a liberal use of TV will contribute to prison order.

One methodological problem must be solved first. The data presented in Table 1 represent a set of "multiple indicators" of the influence process—some variables are based on nominal measures, others are ordinal, and still others are interval in nature. As such, they constitute a complex configuration of "facts" and "values" about television and prison order. One solution to this problem is to convert all measures to dummy variables (see Goodman 1970; Babbie 1986). Thus, all measures were dichotomized at the mean and recoded so that scores of 1 indicated liberal usage (and a high degree of order), and scores of 0 comprised the null model. Next, logit regression procedures were employed to examine the quality of relationships between statistically significant variables (see Aldrich and Nelson 1984). While this procedure allows for an identification of the organizational forces that contribute to the impact of television on prison order, it does not permit an assessment of the magnitude of influence associated with these processes.[5] Therefore, this paper is only concerned with specifying the quality of the selected independent variables as predictors of the dependent variable, and is not interested in specifying the quantity of those effects.

Predicting the Impact of Television on Prison Order

Results of the logit regression are presented in Table 2. While this procedure does not provide a summary statistic analogous to R^2, the relative influence of independent variables may be examined by reference to the ratios of the various coefficients to their standard errors as a measure of statistical significance. As such, six variables enter the model as predictors of organizational conditions under which television may contribute to prison order.

The strongest predictor is a policy variable measuring the extent to which television is used by staff as a device to maintain institutional order. Contrary to the research hypothesis, the direction of the coefficient indicates that administrative control over TV is a cardinal indicator of prison order. Our interpretation of this finding is that TV has a greater impact on prison order when staffs regulate TV usage. Population also enters the model with a significant effect. Wardens with more than 1,000 inmates under custody perceive television as having a

TABLE 2. LOGIT REGRESSION MODEL OF TELEVISION AND PRISON ORDER

VARIABLE	REGRESSION COEFFICIENT	STANDARD ERROR	COEFF/SE
TELEVISION USED AS DEVICE TO MAINTAIN ORDER	-.715	.331	-2.15
POPULATION	.764	.363	2.10
INMATES ALLOWED TO OWN TELEVISION SETS	-.896	.468	-1.91
TELEVISION USED AS A PRIVILEGE	-.674	.373	-1.80
PERCENT BUDGET SHOULD BE INCREASED FOR TELEVISION	.861	.489	1.75
AVERAGE VIEWING HOURS PER WEEK	-.599	.386	-1.55
	INTERCEPT	SE	INTERCEPT/SE
	5.873	.955	6.14

NOTE

Maximum likelihood converged at iteration 6. Criterion = .00004.

greater impact on order than wardens of smaller institutions. Table 1 indicates that these larger institutions are predominantly maximum-security facilities.

Also contrary to the research hypothesis, the model stipulates that inmate ownership of a TV set is not related to prison order. In fact, the negative coefficient suggests that wardens link television to prison order only when personal ownership is prohibited. However, the location of television ("public" vs. "individual cell") did not enter the model with a significant impact on order. As such, the model specifies that the location of TV is not as important as the administrative ownership of TV. Consistently then, the model stipulates that where television use is thought of as a privilege by inmates and staff, wardens will perceive television as having an impact on order. Overall, ample evidence exists to conclude that administrative regulation of television is strongly associated with TV's impact on prison order. Concern for television also entered the model with a significant effect. Those wardens who recommended more than a ten percent increase in their operating budgets were more likely to see a link between TV and prison order than other wardens. Finally, one variable measuring inmate viewing habits was a significant predictor of order. Again in contrast to the research hypothesis, the direction of the coefficient indicates that prisoners who watch less than thirty hours of television per week contribute more to prison order than those prisoners who watch an excess of thirty hours. Simply put, increased television viewing does not correlate with prison order.

These findings permit the construction of a composite picture which depicts the organizational conditions under which television contributes to prison order. In essence, TV is related to order in highly populated, maximum-security prisons where inmates view state-owned sets in either public or private areas of the prison for less than thirty hours a week. Furthermore, staff exercise substantial control over television. They use it to maintain orderliness, and TV is perceived as a privilege by staff and inmates. Meanwhile, wardens ask their superiors for more money to expand the leisurely use of television by inmates.

Discussion

Previous research has concentrated on the television viewing preferences and gratifications of individual prison inmates. Yet a subsequent analysis of television policy and attitudes of prison administrators toward this media is necessary because the results of such a study can play a part in our understanding of the conditions which lead to order in modern prison communities. This understanding can help administrators as they confront unprecedented crowding (Austin and Krisberg 1985), increased expenditures (Bureau of Justice Statistics 1985), and innumerable problems associated with prison management. These problems include increases in disciplinary infractions and violence (Gaes and McGuire 1985; Ruback and Carr 1984), and deprivations in the areas of medical and mental health services, food services, sanitation, and vocational, educational and recreational opportunities—including access to a television set.

Our study has endeavoured to determine whether a "liberal" use of television contributes to prison order. The data indicate that this hypothesis is not credible—a finding that appears to be inconsistent with the results of previous research.

The study revealed that a policy of allowing inmates to own personal TV sets had nothing to do with prison order. Indeed, television made a greater contribution to order when sets were owned by the state. This finding lies in contrast to the conclusions drawn by NIC (1985), Lindlof (1987), and Dilulio (1987). Similarly, contrary to the findings adduced by Austin (1974) and Jackson and Christian (1980), present findings indicate that the physical location of TV has no bearing on prison order. Our interpretation of this finding is that televisions located in individual cells do not necessarily contribute to order and televisions located in public areas do not necessarily lead to disorder. It may be entirely possible that "cell-block" viewers learn to negotiate a state of interaction in which TV programs are selected by "public choice," or compromise among inmates and prison guards—producing a sort of synergy which leaves the prisoner in a peaceful state of mind. On the other hand, it is possible that inmates become more peaceful by watching TV in their cells. Moreover, televisions seem to sustain order when they are owned by prison administrators and it makes no difference where viewing is allowed.

The divergence between present findings and previous research may however be an artifact of sampling and design. While our investigation was based on latent assessments of a large and varied group of inmates, prior work made direct observations of small or selective groups of prisoners in "congested areas," on death row, and in systems undergoing crisis. In light of these considerations, present findings indicate that television does not have a significant effect on prison order in institutions that are constitutionally overcrowded. Also, optional scheduling, financial assessments of inmates for television usage, and the use of TV as a treatment medium had no effect on prison order. On balance, these "non-findings" suggest the importance of those organizational conditions that do make a difference in predicting prison order.

In the present study, variables measuring the control of television by institutional staff were the strongest predictors of order. In effect, the data suggested that by providing the privilege of access to television, prisons bought valuable leverage for their overall control. Accordingly, we conducted a series of interviews with wardens who placed a premium on television in an attempt to understand better the ways in which administrators use TV as a tool for behavioural control. While these responses ranged from common sense approaches to the bizarre, they shared a common theme: as expected, security concerns were at the base of each policy.

A number of wardens indicated that television privileges for inmates were set by cell block supervisors and automatically suspended for disciplinary infractions. The suspension of TV privileges were usually scaled so that they were commensurate with the levels of infraction. Other wardens stated that they extended television hours during the summer months and holidays. As one official noted, "TV gives the men a way to take their minds off being in prison at times they most want to be some place else." Lastly, we interviewed a warden in a Western state who used institutional funds to subscribe to a special service provided by a local pornography franchise. His control over television was obvious. "During the summer when all hell starts to break loose around here, I'll call the porno cable people and tell 'em to link up the service. Quickest way I know to clear a prison yard!"

The study also found that wardens of highly populated, maximum-security prisons derive greater benefit from television than other wardens. This conflicts with claims made by Flanagan and Nerenez (1976) and Dilulio (1987) that increased prison populations create fewer opportunities for TV viewing, which in turn leads to prison disorder. A more reasonable assessment of the link between television and prison order is that highly populated, maximum-security prisons control TV more than other prisons, hence they elicit greater order from TV usage because they are usually more coercive (see Etzioni 1961). Thus, it appears that the impact of television on prison order operates primarily as a function of structural and social features of each institution, and not as a function of the availability of TV.

In this vein, Perrow (1967) wrote that wardens of "custodial institutions" generally perceive inmates to be uniform and stable in their behaviour. Combining Perrow's thesis with our research, we might expect maximum-security officials to demonstrate greater certainty in their policies than other wardens. Put another way, if maximum-security wardens believe their particular use of television will affect the uniformity and stability of inmates, they will perceive as much. Finally, it must be noted that attentiveness to television had no impact on our measure of prison order. In fact, moderate amounts of TV viewing sustained order in prison better than liberal amounts of viewing.

In sum, it appears that television is a luxury in some prisons and a necessity in others. Our findings suggest that television is a luxury where medium- and minimum-security inmates are allowed to watch unlimited amounts and variety of TV on personal sets without staff control. Conversely, television constitutes a necessity in highly populated (yet uncrowded) maximum-security prisons where controls are placed on the use of state-owned sets located in either public or private areas of the prison where inmates watch moderate amounts of TV. Although far from conclusive, these findings suggest the need for further empirical assessments of not only television's impact on prison order, but the effect of other "amenities" such as air-conditioning, sanitation, food service, visitation, and the like.

Notes

[1] This conclusion may not be as straightforward as presented here. For instance, Lindlof (1987, 185) argues that regular "cell block viewers" are "lower class" inmates who do not have the resources to purchase their own television sets. As such, cell block viewers may be "mentally slower, and either disproportionately older inmates or young blacks from the most disruptive subgroups" of the prison population.

[2] This finding does not necessarily mean that all optional scheduling is endorsed by prison administrators. We have talked with many inmates who speak freely about the contraband economy in "cheat boxes" that effectively access optional scheduling. These devices are usually constructed from materials stolen from prison electronics shops and can normally be purchased for half a carton of cigarettes (see Kalinich and Stojkovic 1987 for a concise discussion of prison contraband economies).

[3] Several studies indicate that the average American watches television about four hours per day (see National Institute of Mental Health 1982).

[4] Specifically, the variance on this item was 11.29 with a standard deviation of 3.36.

[5] The simple identification of these processes also does little to increase our understanding of the causal linkages between organizational forces which contribute to prison order. However, two problems with the present data precluded a path analysis of causality. First, there are unequal numbers of indicators for the constructs entitled "Television Policy," "Viewing Habits," "Concern for Television," and "Management Problems." Hence, any attempt to regress, say, "Management Problems" and "Television Policy" on "Viewing Habits" might produce spurious coefficients as a result of one construct being more repetitively represented in the regression equation (see Gordon 1968). The net effect of this procedure would be a coefficient that has been diluted by the larger number of indicators (Sullivan 1974). Second, the within-set correlations for the indicators varied considerably and many were of low magnitude. Zero-order correlations ranged from .00 to .88, and only 40% of the coefficients were significant. As such, the data failed to achieve construct validity since indicators seemed not to be "indicating" the same things.

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Evaluating the Effects of Vocational Education on Inmates

A Research Model and Preliminary Results

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In 1985, the New Mexico Department of Education agreed to make funds available to Santa Fe Community College for the development and implementation of a research project to determine the effects of vocational training on the recidivism of former inmates in New Mexico. From 1986 to 1987, consultants were hired by Santa Fe Community College (SFCC) to develop a research model for this purpose. This report describes the development and pilot testing of the research model which will be used for a long-term follow-up study on ex-inmates who have completed vocational training during their incarceration. Although the study presented here was primarily a pilot test and did not result in statistically significant conclusions, a description of the model may be useful to others planning follow-up activities.

Review of the Literature

To begin the project, the consultants reviewed related literature and reported on the findings concerning vocational education programming and its impact on successful parole. Their research indicated that the following factors appear to promote successful parole outcomes for inmates who receive vocational training.

Intensity of Program. The more time the offender has had in a training program, the stronger the relationship to successful employment (Barry, Becker, and Sonenshine 1974).

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Other Education. College attendance reduced an 80% recidivism rate to as low as 10% in Gude's study (1974); however, no difference was found in recidivism rates between inmates who had passed the GED and those who had not (Urner 1977).

Prior Employment History. Kitchener, Schmidt, and Glaser (1977) studied 903 inmates released from federal institutions and found that prior employment played a role in successful post-release adjustments. The longer one had been previously employed in a single job, the lower the recidivism rates and the longer the time period before failures occurred. Larkin's research (1975) indicates that underemployed or unemployed parolees were four times more likely to fail on parole as their employed counterparts.

Other Inmate Characteristics. Mitchell (1975) found no significant relationship between recidivism and such demographic characteristics as age, sex, race, or marital status. Data related to the age variable is contradictory and therefore still inconclusive. While Mace (1977) found no age-related differences in the post-release behaviour of training individuals, Lipton, Martinson, and Wilks (1975) did. The latter authors note that success in vocational training programs tends to be associated with older and more mature offenders in comparison to very young offenders. They further state that the young, unmarried first offender without a high school education and with below average intelligence is not likely to complete vocational training.

Positive Outcomes. As indicated, vocational training is associated with both lower recidivism rates and higher employment rates. There are some indirect benefits to training more individuals who do not repeat crimes. For example, Mace (1977) finds that the non-recidivists in their study earned a significantly higher average monthly income. And Acquilano (1972) indicates that released offenders who had some vocational, academic, and job placement skills demonstrated an 80% job retention rate.

Although vocational education programs for inmates have not proven to be completely successful in lowering recidivism rates, studies do indicate that offenders with vocational skills are more self-sufficient and better able to adjust to social demands while on parole. In addition, Sylvia G. McCollum, an Education Administrator at the Federal Bureau of Prisons, indicates that it may be unrealistic to measure the effectiveness of any particular program in terms of recidivism. She indicates that factors such as a person's life history and the quality of that life at the time of incarceration have much more impact on recidivism rates. Among the variables that must be considered are family support at post-release, mental and physical health, and access to opportunities (McCollum 1977).

Fortunately, the history of the effects of vocational education on recidivism has not been entirely discouraging. Carefully administered programs such as a New York initiative where inmate-students received pre-testing, remedial education, counselling and training, have been shown to reduce recidivism dramatically (from 66% to 48%). The New York program demonstrated the emerging philosophy of "reintegration" which recognizes that a rehabilitation program will not be successful unless it is linked to the offender's home community (Cel 1983).

Program Description

In reviewing the history of corrections education in New Mexico, it is clear that many of the characteristics identified for successful "reintegration" programs have been incorporated. The State now provides a broad educational program for inmates, including two college-level programs as well as a Career Services program which assists inmates in the transition from prison to the home community. Eighteen vocational programs are offered by SFCC (a two-year college) and academic education is offered by the College of Santa Fe (a four-year college). There are four correctional facilities in New Mexico in which vocational education is offered: one houses medium- and maximum-security inmates; a second is a medium-security prison providing the majority of the vocational programs; the third houses both medium- and minimum-security inmates and currently provides the majority of the academic education courses; and the last is the only state facility housing women.

All vocational courses allow one calendar year for completion, and all classes are open-entry, open-exit. Instruction is individualized and competency-based. Admission requirements are either a high school diploma or a GED. The courses offered lead to certificates and/or associate degrees in specific vocational programs. SFCC is not contracted to provide any basic skills or academic courses; Corrections Department instructors or the College of Santa Fe provide these courses. Credits can be applied to certificates and degrees from SFCC when appropriate. The Career Services program provides job placement services as well as training in job preparation and other "life skills" areas for inmates in pre-release programs. By combining the

Career Services program with vocational training, inmates can expand their abilities to find and keep employment when they return to their communities. In addition, they are trained in improved thinking skills, good work habits, and positive social/interpersonal skills.

Project History

The consultants developing the research model for SFCC initially designed a model which analyzed the impact of vocational programs on inmates both before and after release from prison. Vocational programs were to be evaluated based on administrative effectiveness, program content, and methods of delivery. Data was gathered for a pilot study to test the research model through surveys, interviews, and questionnaires. The research model developed during 1986–88 contained five general aspects. The first included basic demographic information (e.g., age, educational background, etc.) characterizing the average inmate who enrolls in vocational programs. The second general aspect concerned vocational programs and course information, including the following: descriptions and evaluations of enrollments, completions, withdrawals, average length of stay in classes, and grades awarded; course and program goals and materials; and student ratings of the courses, teachers, and programs. The third aspect focussed on relevant in-prison information, including group comparisons of inmates who enrolled in vocational programs and those who did not enroll in terms of the number of disciplinary reports, "good time" awards, and inmates returned to prison during probation or parole or after release. The fourth aspect examined parole differences between groups of inmates who had and had not participated in vocational programs in terms of information relating to trouble with the law, employment, education, lifestyle, and attitude. The last aspect in the model concerned post-parole differences between the vocational program students and the comparison group. This aspect involved collecting information concerning current employment, education/training, and trouble with the law.

Since SFCC had only been providing vocational programs to inmates for one year at the inception of the research project (and therefore did not have a significant group of released inmates to study) the consultants primarily focussed on the impact of vocational programs on the behaviour of vocational education inmates prior to release. It was postulated that inmates participating in vocational programs might exhibit more acceptable behaviour patterns than those not participating. It was interesting to discover that, despite controls for prior backgrounds and other influencing factors, inmates in vocational programs received not less but more disciplinary reports than those not enrolled in vocational programs.

The vocational education inmates did tend to have more "good time" awards (time taken off of sentences for good behaviour) than non-vocational education inmates. The preliminary results thus seemed to indicate that the educational programs provided added opportunities for good time awards, but may have also placed inmates in a setting which increased their risk of being reported for negative behaviours.

TABLE 1. COMPARISON OF DISCIPLINARY REPORTS

	VOCATIONAL EDUCATION GROUP	NON-VOCATIONAL EDUCATION GROUP
MAJOR DISCIPLINARY REPORT(S)	21%	15%
MINOR DISCIPLINARY REPORT(S)	43%	36%
WARNING(S)	30%	23%
FUTURE "GOOD TIME" DENIED TO THEM	3%	——
OTHER DISCIPLINARY ACTION(S)	38%	32%
"GOOD TIME" AWARDS FORFEITED	13%	8%

The consultants located only a few released inmates who had participated in SFCC's vocational programs. The model was designed to demonstrate the effects of vocational training on factors such as employability, recidivism rates, subsequent educational endeavours, attitudes, and life styles. In the pilot study that was done to test the model, approximately 50% of the released vocational education inmates studied were found to exhibit positive behaviours in these categories (Wilde, Schau, and Gregory 1987).

Methodology

From 1987 to 1988, a new consultant was hired by SFCC to revise and implement the research model. The proposed revisions dealt with the necessity to focus more on post-release data than the original model had done. Since the majority of New Mexico inmates serve a two-year mandatory parole period, it was proposed that records concerning probation and parole of previous SFCC inmate students be checked to determine which persons were still on parole, and to determine their success on parole. Although it had been demonstrated that rehabilitative efforts such as vocational education may not show an appreciable effect on recidivism, SFCC recognized the need to address the expectations (of legislators and various funding sources) that vocational training should reduce recidivism. In addition, the stated mission of the college is to contribute to the preparation for self-supporting and socially acceptable life styles through education and training. College officials wanted to know how well they were accomplishing this mission in regard to inmate students. In response to these needs, the researchers took the approach of examining recidivism rates while controlling for other variables which might influence the probability of success or failure on parole. These variables included a history of substance abuse, age at first adjudication, number of prior supervisions, number of prior revocations, and number of prior felony convictions. The variables were selected because of their influence on the probability of parole success.

Using the parole file kept by the Corrections Department, post-release data on all inmates who had successfully completed at least five credit hours at SFCC between 1985 and 1987 was collected. Data collection focussed on success or failure on parole as well as on post-release employment and income. The vocational education group was compared to a group of matched inmates who had not participated in the SFCC program (the non-vocational education group) along the same variables related to success/failure probability. The study also attempted to ensure that individual members of the vocational education group had started parole at the same time (and had the same time to serve on parole) as their counterparts in the non-vocational education group, thus ensuring that success or failure on parole could not be attributed to longer or shorter supervision periods. Finally, the study controlled for the number of months left on parole at the time of data collection, age at discharge, sex, and race. After matching for all of these variables was completed, the groups were separated into two categories, described as "high" or "low" risk. These designations referred to the probability of success on parole based on the seriousness of the individual's criminal justice history and substance abuse problems.

Description of Population

The vocational education group included 66 persons, 56 men and 10 women. The ages ranged from 20 through 64 years. The median was 42 years, while the mode was 34 years. There were 24 white subjects, representing 36% of the total group. Of these, 19 were men and 5 were women. Of the 42 subjects who were non-white, or minority, 37 were men and 5 were women. The group had taken from 5 to 34 hours of SFCC credits. However, the majority (40 subjects, or 60.6% of the total) had taken only 5 to 9 credit hours.

TABLE 2.
EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND OF THE VOCATIONAL EDUCATION GROUP

	CREDIT HOURS					
	5–9	10–14	15–19	20–24	25–29	30–34
MEN	32	12	7	1	2	2
WOMEN	8	2	0	0	0	0
TOTAL	40	14	7	1	2	2

There were 29 persons categorized as high risk and 37 as low risk. However, while the men were evenly distributed among categories with 28 high risk and 28 low risk, the women were unevenly distributed with only one high risk and 9 low risk.

Results

The vocational education and non-vocational education groups were compared on overall success on parole based on the termination code entered when an inmate moves from active supervision to inactive supervision. Inmates are considered "inactive" either because they have completed a supervision period, or have had their parole revoked and have been returned to prison. Termination codes indicating revocation or absconder status were considered "failures." Termination codes indicating a discharge from supervision were considered a "success."

The College had hoped to find that the vocational education group was more successful on parole than the non-vocational education group, thereby demonstrating the probability that vocational education programs have the potential to reduce recidivism. Unfortunately, the vocational education group was not more successful on parole. Eighteen percent of the non-vocational education group was success-

TABLE 3. RISK ASSESSMENT OF THE VOCATIONAL EDUCATION GROUP

	RISK LEVEL		
	HIGH	LOW	TOTAL
MEN	28	28	56
WOMEN	1	9	10
TOTAL	29	37	66

ful, while only fifteen percent of the vocational education group was successful. However, the differences were not statistically significant.

At least three considerations must be made when reviewing the results. First, the number of SFCC credit hours completed for the vocational education group is very low (61% had completed only 9 hours or less), and none of the subjects had completed a course of study to the certificate level. Stronger results might be expected for completion as opposed to participation. In addition, previously cited research by McCollum (1977) strongly suggests that success on parole is dependent on a number of factors, and reliance on any single factor such as the completion of vocational education programs is probably misplaced. Second, the numbers in each group are so small that differences are not statistically significant, and interpretations should be made cautiously, if at all. Finally, 33 persons, 50% of the group, were still on active parole status at the completion of the study. How the entire group will perform can only be determined after the end of the last parole period.

The only positive results of the study were related to employment and income levels of released inmates during parole. In addition to looking at recidivism rates, the researchers studied employment and

TABLE 4. COMPLETION OF PAROLE

	VOCATIONAL EDUCATION GROUP	NON-VOCATIONAL EDUCATION GROUP
UNSUCCESSFUL	16 (24%)	13 (20%)
SUCCESSFUL	10 (15%)	12 (18%)

TABLE 5.
SUBJECTS REPORTING EMPLOYMENT AT ASSESSMENT AND REASSESSMENT

A. FULL-TIME ONLY

	VOCATIONAL EDUCATION GROUP	NON-VOCATIONAL EDUCATION GROUP
AT ASSESSMENT	16 (24%)	15 (23%)
AT REASSESSMENT	24 (36%)	18 (27%)

B. FULL- AND PART-TIME

	VOCATIONAL EDUCATION GROUP	NON-VOCATIONAL EDUCATION GROUP
AT ASSESSMENT	23 (35%)	23 (35%)
AT REASSESSMENT	29 (44%)	21 (32%)
	$N = 66$	$N = 66$

income data. While the differences were still not statistically significant, the data did show more employment for the vocational education group. At the initial parole assessment, the vocational education group had a 35% employment rate; at reassessment several months later their employment was at 44%. The non-vocational education group had a 35% employment rate at assessment and 32% at reassessment. The vocational subjects appeared to be employed more consistently than the non-vocational subjects. In addition, their performance over time showed an increase in employment, while the non-vocational subjects' total employment decreased from the time of release to the time of reassessment. When the groups were compared on the basis of income at assessment and reassessment, the results were similar to the employment trends. At assessment, 33% of the vocational education subjects were earning money, while 39% of the non-vocational education subjects indicated having income. However, at reassessment, the number of vocational subjects with income had risen to 32, or close to 50% of the group, while the number of non-vocational subjects with earnings dropped to 30% of the group.

Employment was also studied by risk category. The results for those persons in both groups categorized as low risk showed little difference. There were 37 persons categorized as low risk in both groups. Of that

TABLE 6.
SUBJECTS REPORTING INCOME AT ASSESSMENT AND REASSESSMENT

	VOCATIONAL ED GROUP	NON-VOCATIONAL ED GROUP
AT ASSESSMENT	22 (33%)	26 (39%)
AT REASSESSMENT	32 (48%)	20 (30%)
	$N = 66$	$N = 66$

total, 16 of the vocational education group were employed (full- and part-time) at assessment, and 14 were employed at reassessment. The low-risk non-vocational education group had 14 persons employed at assessment and 17 at reassessment. The comparison of the high-risk groups was much more dramatic. The number of persons categorized as high risk was 29. Of the vocational education group, 7 were employed at assessment, but 15 were employed at reassessment. The non-

TABLE 7.
RISK CATEGORY COMPARISON FOR SUBJECTS REPORTING EMPLOYMENT

A. LOW-RISK SUBJECTS REPORTING EMPLOYMENT

	VOCATIONAL ED GROUP			NON-VOCATIONAL ED GROUP		
	FULL-TIME	PART-TIME	TOTAL	FULL-TIME	PART-TIME	TOTAL
AT ASSESSMENT	12	4	16	10	4	14
AT REASSESSMENT	13	1	14	15	2	17

$N = 37$

B. HIGH-RISK SUBJECTS REPORTING EMPLOYMENT

	VOCATIONAL ED GROUP			NON-VOCATIONAL ED GROUP		
	FULL-TIME	PART-TIME	TOTAL	FULL-TIME	PART-TIME	TOTAL
AT ASSESSMENT	4	3	7	5	4	9
AT REASSESSMENT	11	4	15	3	1	4

$N = 29$

vocational education group showed 9 employed at assessment and only 4 employed at reassessment. The reassessment employment numbers represent 52% employment for the vocational group, and only 14% employment for the non-vocational group.

While the numbers are not large enough to be statistically significant, they may indicate an interesting trend that is counter-intuitive: high-risk persons may benefit more from SFCC programs than low risk. If true, SFCC may have a greater effect on the stabilization of employment, one of the factors that can contribute to socialization and successful post-release conduct, for the least likely to succeed group of inmates.

Discussion

As the research indicates, the factors affecting an individual's ability to adjust socially in a positive way after prison are very complicated. It would be erroneous to conclude from this study that the failure to find a difference in recidivism rates between the vocational and non-vocational education groups means that the SFCC program has failed. If the program has accomplished nothing else, it appears at least to have contributed to the social adjustment of released inmates by providing them with increased opportunities for employment and income. Larkin (1975) indicates that underemployed and unemployed parolees recidivate at a higher rate than their employed counterparts. The results of the current study indicate some positive employment trends for the vocational education group as compared to the non-vocational education group. Since the groups were strictly matched on a number of variables typically associated with recidivism, although the findings of this study were not statistically significant, the researchers felt that a significant *pattern* was exhibited. It can be hypothesized that, if the vocational education group were composed of persons who had completed the SFCC program to certificate level, the employment trends would be even greater, and that over time, some difference in recidivism rates would be noticeable.

While this study is clearly not definitive, it does indicate some interesting trends that could be followed up in later research. For example, if the vocational education group consisted of persons with certificates, would the same results of better employment for the high-risk group, as compared to the low-risk group, be apparent? Although the numbers were small in this study, that trend was apparent, and presents some interesting questions for later research. If the high-risk group has more felonies, and more failures on supervision, and generally greater drug and alcohol problems, the impact of keeping them gainfully employed after their release might be very significant in terms of reducing the total number of crimes committed, because each member of this group is likely to commit more crimes per person than their lower-risk counterpart.

This study indicates that vocational training can help released inmates to control at least one part of their lives by making employment more likely. If subsequent studies with a larger number of subjects show similar results, vocational training may be credited with reducing the number of barriers to successful reintegration. Such a reduction would be sufficient justification for vocational programs in prison, even if no long-term differences in recidivism are apparent. In addition, there is a need to recognize the role that vocational programs play in prisons, apart from any impact they may have on post-release behaviour. Idleness is a major problem in America's prisons, and it often leads to unrest and violence. The availability of meaningful and challenging programs, such as those offered by SFCC, fulfills a social function other than rehabilitation. Classroom experiences help channel energy that often otherwise results in prison turmoil, which can be costly to taxpayers.

The researchers have cautioned against replicating this study in New Mexico until the number of persons who have completed SFCC programs to the certificate level (and have been released to parole supervision for at least a year) is large enough to make some definitive statements. It may take several years for the vocational education group population to reach a size that would make a follow-up study appropriate. In the meantime, the initial conclusions have led to some important insights for program improvement. It has become clear that many inmate students have difficulties in completing vocational programs while incarcerated. Various factors, including short-term sentences, the open-entry/open-exit enrollment system, and frequent transfers and withdrawals of inmates from vocational education programs are preventing a large number of students from completing certificate programs. Recommendations are currently being made to reduce the number of transfers, reduce the length of time allowed for completion of individual courses (one year), and to link "good time" to the completion of courses and programs for the purpose of increasing the likelihood of course and program completions. The Career Services Program has also been expanded, since the research has shown that positive work attitudes are as important as specific vocational skills. Hopefully, the ongoing work of this study may contribute to the small but growing body of empirical data on the effects of vocational education in prison.

Santa Fe Community College intends to maintain this research as one of its program goals. The methodology will be refined as the number of subjects increases. In time, we may have a better source of information on which to base decisions regarding educational programming.

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Educational Requirements for Correctional Officers

STANDARDS FOR ENTRY LEVEL AND PROMOTION

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Higher education preparation of correctional staff has been surfacing as a major issue in the American penal system for over fifty years. Since 1931 virtually every important study of the system has focussed on the generally low level of education found among large numbers of correctional personnel and identified it as a primary weakness in the system. However, to speak of the lack of education for correctional personnel in the aggregate would be misleading, due to the varied, diverse and complex system. Each occupational segment contained within the correctional framework has an array of different functions, responsibilities and duties, each of which has specific requirements for educational preparation. Within any given agency or occupation, it is possible to find jobs that require highly specialized professional degrees, as well as occupations having no apparent educational requirement whatsoever.

While the complexity of the system is acknowledged, the perception of many of the commentators has been, to a great extent, that corrections has been in the past the least educated element of the criminal justice system. The major emphasis in corrections has been that of custody and security, and personnel hired for this job have usually come from the less educated areas of the population. Coupled with this factor have been other closely related problems associated with corrections, such as the isolated rural location of many correctional institutions, poor pay, poor promotional opportunities, depressing working conditions, and political interference. This has all served to discourage from correctional employment persons whose education preparation provides them with better options.

Recognition of the inadequate educational preparation of correctional personnel (mainly corrections officers) has resulted in significant efforts to upgrade their level of preparation over the years. In 1967, the Corrections Task Force of the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice looked towards changing the correctional system into a force for reducing recidivism and preventing recruitment into criminal careers. It tied this objective to the need for recruiting and retaining qualified staff, believing that "the main ingredient for changing people is other people" (Task Force 1967).

As correctional philosophies have shifted over the past fifty years, from issues of punishment, custody, treatment, rehabilitation and reintegration, the central role of the corrections officer has remained one of custody and security. Depending on the philosophy of a particular institution, that role may be somewhat enhanced. Where institutions favour expanding the correction officer's responsibilities, as part of the treatment process the Task Force found it reasonable to require graduation from high school as the minimum educational requirement. The Task Force further recommended developing career paths for managerial positions and recruiting from graduates of two- to four-year colleges and universities, and that higher educational standards were particularly important for supervisors who deal with special kinds of offenders.

Other commissions and professional associations have supported the establishment of minimum educational standards. The American Correctional Association, although recognizing high school graduation as the usual education requirement, suggested that correctional administrators assist in upgrading educational levels by helping in the development of two-year undergraduate programs (ACA 1974)

The Joint Commission on Correctional Manpower and Training also recognized high school graduation as the usual requirement for line correctional jobs. It was reasoned that this requirement was related to the demands of the job which called for stability and technical reading and writing ability (Commission on Correctional Manpower 1974). The National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals recommended that "qualification for correctional staff members be set at the state level and include the requirement of a high school diploma" (National Advisory Commission 1973). While the implication of the NAC was toward improving the quality of personnel, it did not make specific recommendations for increasing the minimum hiring qualifications beyond a high school graduation.

The National Manpower Survey of the Criminal Justice System in its observation of corrections summed up nicely, at that time, the current state of affairs for educational requirements for correctional officers. It suggested that a college-level educational requirement for entry as a correctional officer does not seem warranted, but that impetus toward the further educational upgrading of the officer be sustained through continued support of in-service educational opportunities (National Manpower Survey 1978).

While various commissions favour states establishing plans for coordinating criminal justice education to ensure a sound academic continuity through to graduate level studies (NAC 1973), not one recommends that correctional officers possess a baccalaureate degree as a minimum entry-level requirement. In general, commissions and professional organizations recommend the high school diploma as an acceptable minimum requirement.

Would a four-year degree improve the performance of the correctional officer? In light of past commissions' recommendations, there has been virtually no research conducted on this issue. Although a high school diploma is the standard acceptable entry requirement for the correctional officer, many officers have pursued their education while working or educated personnel already possessing a four-year degree have been hired. Studies of these individuals' job performance are lacking and are only mentioned in passing when other areas of research are of prime focus (i.e., job dissatisfaction, stress of the corrections officer, role conflict, etc.). If the key to changing people is through other people, as held by the Task Force, then a college education lends itself to the development of correctional officers in providing the necessary change, regardless of whether their function is custody-oriented.

The focus of this paper is to analyze if the performance of corrections officers can be improved through a baccalaureate degree, and if that degree should be used as one of many standards for line-level entry into correctional work.

Changes in Correctional Work

American prisons have changed from relatively simple institutions with punishment and custody as primary objectives in the 1800s, to more complex organizations with different and contradictory goals. A state of uncertainty and a heightened sense of ambiguity exists with regard to the role of the present day correctional officer. At the heart of this uncertainty is change in the correctional philosophy, treatment ideologies, laws, and subsequent correctional policies. Traditional methods of doing things have been re-examined and redefined.

As these changes have occurred so too have the duties and responsibilities of the officer. Various writers have detailed the changes in corrections that have altered the officer position dramatically. According to Hepburn (1985), officers themselves recognize that their ability to control inmates does not rest chiefly on the use of punishments and rewards. The rise of rehabilitation as an ideal, combined with the entry of the judiciary into the most carefully guarded corners of the prison, may also have restrained the previously more punitive and unrestrained keepers (Carroll 1974; Crouch 1980b, 1986).

Confusion has become common among guards since administrators took tasks away from them in an effort to professionalize their own ranks (Jacobs and Crotty 1983). Other changes have taken place such as size and composition of the inmate population (Wickman 1985). These changes were more prevalent in the 1960s and 1970s, when educated drug dealers and social revolutionaries flooded available cells (McEleney 1985). Overcrowding produced pressures and tensions just when directives for dealing with these tensions became less clear and options at hand were more restricted (Wickman 1986).

These changes emerged while the job and role of the officer were changing. Correctional institutions function largely and primarily with a custodial emphasis. Due to changes in court decisions, correctional philosophy has changed, forcing the role of the officer to expand and diversify, compounding the issue of role specificity for the correctional officer. The officer's job in the past was less ambiguous: "No escapes, order and silence." The main task was to enforce the rules and to prevent escapes. In the beginning, guards were to consider their charges wicked and depraved, capable of every atrocity, and ever plotting some means of violence (Fogel 1979).

Today's correctional officer must still "prevent escapes," but the manner in which he or she goes about this task has been altered dramatically. As modern penology philosophy, laws and policies have changed corrections, the functional roles of the officer have expanded and become more complex. The officer is no longer expected just to prevent escapes, count, and search prisoners; the modern officer must also possess the ability to effect positive change in prisoners' behaviour, interact with inmates, understand the deprivations of incarceration, be adept in human relations and communication skills, understand ethnic cultural differences, and possess crisis intervention skills. In addition to actual custodial duties, today's officer is truly expected to have a variety of skills which his or her counterparts of earlier days never possessed.

Given the many roles and pressures that the corrections officer must contend with, it is not surprising to find that the attitudes correctional officers have toward their work are quite varied and complex. Consequently, most current research on corrections officers centres on role changes/conflict and its many consequences, including stress, alienation, cynicism, various unpleasant attitudes toward inmates and administrators, and job dissatisfaction. Being aware of and confronted with the new role and tasks facing the modern officer, the value of higher education for correctional officers becomes clear.

The trend in the last fifteen years has been for officers to attend college while being employed, or for an agency to hire college-educated personnel. Despite this, the disturbing fact remains that a significant number of agencies have not changed their minimum educational hiring requirements to reflect the trends in a changing society. Seventy-eight per cent of the nation's correctional agencies still require only a high school or GED as minimum educational requirements for entry-level correctional work; 12% of the agencies have no educational hiring requirements. Combining the two categories, as of 1986, 90% of the correctional agencies still only require a high school diploma, GED, or less. Only a few states have changed their educational hiring requirements: 2% require an associate's degree (Colorado) and 2% require fifteen college semester credits (Michigan) as the Appendix indicates. (The Appendix lists the minimum educational requirements of each state in 1976 and shows the change in those requirements as of 1986.)

In today's sophisticated society a high school diploma just does not guarantee that individuals will possess the required minimal requirements for the complex job of corrections officer. Today's high school graduates are just not properly equipped to meet the demands that will face them in the correctional environment. Many high school graduates have serious gaps in the area of basic skills, even lacking the necessary spelling, writing, and reading skills needed to function at the college level. These students are also ill prepared for the level of socialization expected at the college level (Brier 1983). In a progressive correctional environment, administrators can no longer be satisfied with hiring people with only a high school diploma who are not properly prepared with basic skills to assist them in performing their job. Administrators must look to the college-educated individual to assist in enhancing the total correctional environment in the 1990s and beyond.

Therefore, this situation calls for a re-examining of prior commission recommendations of a high school diploma as a standard entry-level requirement. If correctional agencies want to keep up with what is occurring in other occupations and in the general public, new hiring standards and educational requirements must be instituted. In order to remain progressive the correctional agency must at least keep pace with society. More specifically, its staff should be at least as, if not more, educated than the prisoners whom it keeps.

Education and the Quality of Performance

The main concern of this study is whether there is a relationship between higher education and the quality of performance by the corrections officer. While this precise question has not been adequately researched in the correctional environment, there are several studies conducted in the police field which can give insight into the effects of a college education on the performance of patrol officers. Because the job of the patrol officer is in many ways similar to that of a correctional officer (ACA 1987), there can be some comparisons made in terms of the impact of a college education on the job.

There have been many attempts to link educational levels of police officers and the quality of job performance with just as many contradictory findings. Such studies, employing a variety of measures of police officer performance, tend to provide some support for the existence of a positive relationship between higher education and the quality of that performance. Finnegan (1976) studied two groups within the Baltimore Police Department and concluded that college-educated agents were consistently rated higher than less educated police officers in supervisory performance ratings. Sanderson (1977) studied the Los Angeles Police Department and concluded, on the basis of his survey of 117 officers, that college education has a positive effect on each of the five performance variables he tested: academy performance, disciplinary history, absenteeism, termination, and career advancement. Weirman (1978) studied 418 Michigan State Police Troopers and found that the college-educated officer scored higher on those measures of job performance most closely related to academic ability and had better peer relationships within the agency but was also more likely to leave his or her position. In his study of Dade County in Florida, Casico (1977) found an association between higher levels of formal education and fewer injuries, fewer injuries by assault and battery, fewer disciplinary actions resulting from traffic accidents, fewer sick leave days, and fewer allegations of excessive physical force.

Eisenberg and Reinke (1973) felt that it could not be conclusively proven that a college degree will result in better job performance. Griffin's (1980) studies indicated, on the one hand, an inverse relationship between educational levels of patrol officers and their respective performance ratings, and, on the other hand, a highly significant relationship between educational attainment and job achievement. He finally concluded that college education is not related to the job performance of patrol officers as rated by their supervisors, but when education and practical experience are combined there is an increase in performance ratings. Fischer (1981) concluded that, despite the controversy surrounding the value of higher education, it does appear that higher education's benefits outweigh the negative factors associated with it. He further concluded that unless sound proof is found, showing that college-educated officers are inferior to non-college educated officers, departments should continue to recruit the college-educated person.

College Education as a Change Agent in Corrections

This discussion has thus far concerned itself primarily with studies and opinions regarding the value of higher education for correctional officers. There is little doubt of the value of higher education, but the question still remains, "Will a college degree enhance the performance of the correctional officer?" By analyzing police studies in this area there appears to be no conclusive data which support an increased quality of performance by the patrol officer. But, on the other hand, there does appear to be some indication of positive effects on other areas of police work which can be attributed to a college education. Corrections may be able to use this information in terms of improving the quality of correctional service in the prison environment. This leads into a discussion of the changing role of the correctional officer in our changing society and the theoretical or actual need for increased education in order to effect this role change.

As previously noted, the role of today's correctional officer is functionally different than thirty years ago, or for that matter ten years ago, changing from primarily security- and custody-oriented to one of dealing with prisoners and their individual problems within or beyond the walls of the correctional institution. In the current legally complex and ever-changing prison environment, the officer must become adept at identifying methods of supervising younger, more violent and mentally ill prisoners, and then identifying the most appropriate resources to handle the various dimensions of these complex situations. Whether the philosophy of the institution is custodial, rehabilitative, or a combination of the two, certain legal and ethical issues arise which the correctional officer must consider in resolving ongoing human problems inside correctional facilities. There is a geometrically increasing need for correctional officers to be creative, analytically intelligent, imaginative, and self-motivated. Often times training academies, by their very nature, do not address these issues. In fact, many actually discourage the aforementioned characteristics in correctional officers.

According to Whitehead (1967), "Education is the acquisition of the art of the utilization of knowledge." Keeping this statement in mind, it becomes more clear just how the education of correctional officers better facilitates institutional change. Educated officers have a greater capacity to use their knowledge to effect personal change and to solve problems. Education assists them in developing positive habits in using written and spoken ideas and gathering information from many sources to arrive at new conclusions and test the validity of those conclusions.

As the role of the correctional officer changes, higher education can significantly reduce the collective conflicts between the correctional officer and the prisoner. Education can be used as a change agent in corrections by equipping the officer with the necessary skills (problem identification, analysis, and development of alternatives) to meet the new demands facing corrections. The value of higher education in corrections will result in a greater number of people who have the breadth of understanding, the creativity, and the motivation to bring about changes in orientation, policies, and operations of the typical corrections organization, and resolve the many conflicting pressures that currently hamper their effectiveness.

Oftentimes correctional organizations and training academies stifle and inhibit the development of the officers as change agents. Correctional officer behaviour is often determined more by the organization, its attitudes and past practices than by the background of the individual officer. As a result, many of the positive attitudes, traits, and abilities acquired and developed by attending college may not persist in correctional department environment. The influence of "old school" officers, supervisors, and administrative personnel may often suppress the expression and development of these positive qualities. According to Tenny, this serves as one argument for supporting the promotion of persons with a higher education. He states (1971): "No system can ever be changed or improved until there are substantial numbers of individuals, both within and without, who recognize the need for change and have the competence to bring it about." Without the integration of well-educated personnel and their attitudes and skills throughout the ranks of a correctional agency, the effects of college as a change agent are drastically diminished.

Conclusions and Implications

The educational attainment of personnel in corrections appears to have improved significantly within the last ten years. However, higher education as a job requirement for correctional officers fails to parallel other professional occupations. Thus, this study was conducted to demonstrate that while corrections may be leading in areas of "state-of-the-art" facility design and security measures, it is far behind in addressing educational requirements for the officers who manage those facilities.

It is recognized that some empirical studies indicate that a college education can produce better correctional officers, but the value of college for officers is still, to a large degree, a matter of conjecture. In its conclusion on educational standards for correctional officers in 1978, the US Department of Justice stated, "Although increased education is recommended by some commissions and professional associations, it is unlikely that graduation from a two-year or four-year college would be a realistic standard unless the line worker's role changes sufficiently to merit it." This report concludes that the very nature of the job in the nation's prisons has changed dramatically in the past twenty-five years. While correctional officers must perform security functions, their job has drastically changed and more time is spent on front-line crisis intervention situations in the midst of violent, racial situations, or in calming a psychotic or suicidal prisoner. The true role of officers is no longer caricatured by Hollywood vintage movies of a big thug beating on prisoners. Instead, the role lies somewhere between a social worker and technical security expert.

In summary, then, correctional officers not only must be capable of grasping legal issues in their work, but also must have an understanding of human nature, since they will daily confront prisoners whose attitudes toward them or the law they do not share. The officer must be educated to identify and understand a variety of personalities, economic, cultural, and developmental ills. And they must be able to refer, recommend, or involve themselves in an effort to seek the best available solution. Today's prisons have tremendous and complex problems for which problem-solving personnel are needed. College education does appear to develop and enhance these abilities and skills, regardless of the area of study. It can also help to crystallize raw experience, dispel prejudice, and heighten tolerance for ambiguity.

Why isn't academy recruit training the answer? Those programs have traditionally emphasized the more mechanical aspects of custody and security operations. The number of training hours required in most academies does not lend itself to training officers to deal with personal or mob behaviour and just plain human conflicts. It is true that many officers perform numerous mundane tasks such as searching prisoners, running shower lines, and manning security gates. However, the job of the correctional officer has much more sophisticated duties attached to it today that *require* a college education. For there are many aspects of the dynamics of human behaviour on which training academies just can never "spend enough time." In performance of their duties, officers must find a delicate balance in enforcing policies and procedures, between liberty and order, applying wisdom, being flexible, using discretion, and assessing subtle behaviours of varied personalities. To be a professional in other occupations requires countless hours of education: physicians, 11,000 hours; lawyers, 9,000 hours; teachers, 5,000 hours; and CPA's, 5,000 hours. If the tasks of today's correctional officers are normally performed by professionals, and if professionals are normally prepared for the role they fulfill by an academic program of study, then so ought correctional officers be prepared.

Correctional agencies of the future will little resemble today's military-like model. The role of the correctional officer will become more and more a broker of various services for the prisoners. Advancement within an agency will depend more on one's qualifications and education and less on seniority. Promotions will be based on the individual's education level and on performance in simulated role-playing and scenarios and not on years of service. Potential managers must be prepared today through education and job experience to meet the future demands of the correctional agency. Administrators will care more about mental capacities and degrees than other characteristics of the potential officer. And, as a vocation, the job of corrections officer will no longer attract the "John Wayne" types.

Correctional agencies should therefore continue to modify their policies, practices, and organizational design to make better use of their educated personnel. As new prisons are constructed, educated and experienced managers and administrators will be needed to operate these facilities in the best manner feasible which allows for public protection yet confines prisoners under humane conditions. In these ways correctional agencies can add to the symbolic and practical support in attempts to redesign the agencies as educated organizations. Likewise, these requirements will serve to define correctional work as a complex job requiring college-level aptitude and intelligence. These changes in hiring requirements will create new, but hopefully welcome, positive challenges in the supervision and management of the organization. While past practices may be challenged, the managers will be better able to use the present organizational management philosophy to effect the changes that will best meet the needs of a professional, responsible organization. In this way, education will be allowed to have an optimal effect as an agent of change.

While correctional agencies should increase their education requirements for hiring and promotion, they should continue to support and encourage post-entry college education so that those officers who do not currently have a bachelor's degree are allowed to attain entry-level and promotional educational requirements. By doing so, correctional agencies institute positive organizational changes providing interaction with and service to the total organization.

APPENDIX

MINIMUM US EDUCATIONAL ENTRY-LEVEL REQUIREMENTS FOR CORRECTIONAL OFFICERS

STATE	1976	1986
Alabama	High School or equivalent	High School
Alaska	High School	No response
Arizona	None; personal evaluation	High School or equivalent
Arkansas	High School	Three years' correctional experience and read and write
California	High School or equivalent	High School
Colorado	None	Associate Degree or correctional experience
Connecticut	None	None. Must pass written, oral, physical, and background exam
Delaware	High School	Twelfth grade education or equivalent
Florida	High School	High School or GED
Georgia	High School	High School
Hawaii	High School or equivalent	High School or GED
Idaho	None	No response
Illinois	High School or equivalent	High School or GED with tenth grade reading level
Indiana	High School or GED	No response
Iowa	High School or GED	None
Kansas	High School or GED	High School or GED
Kentucky	High School	High School or GED
Louisiana	None. Take exam	None
Maine	High School	No response
Maryland	High School or GED	High School or GED
Massachusetts	High School or equivalent	High School or GED
Michigan	High School	23 term college credits
Minnesota	None. Oral exam	None. Oral exam
Mississippi	High School or GED	High School or GED
Missouri	High School	High School
Montana	High School	High School or GED
Nebraska	High School or equivalent	High School or GED
Nevada	High School	High School or GED
New Hampshire	High School	High School or GED
New Jersey	None	None
New Mexico	High School or GED	High School or GED
New York	High School	High School or GED
North Carolina	High School or GED	High School

North Dakota	High School or GED	High School
Ohio	Fourth grade	Ability to read, write, and do simple math
Oklahoma	High School or GED	High School or GED
Oregon	High School or GED	High School or GED
Pennsylvania	High School or equivalent	None
Rhode Island	High School	High School or GED
South Carolina	High School and certificate	High School or GED
Tennessee	High School	High School or GED
Texas	High School or GED	High School or GED
Utah	High School	No response
Vermont	High School	High School or GED
Virginia	High School or eighth grade	No response
Washington	High School or GED	High School or GED
West Virginia	Tenth grade education	High School or GED
Wisconsin	High School	None. Background check
Wyoming	None	None. 1 year experience
Federal Bureau of Prisons	College graduate	Three years' college education

NOTE

Survey analyzes educational requirements only.

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Problem-Solving Training and Parole Adjustment in High-Risk Young Adult Offenders

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This article reports on a research project testing the hypothesis that training social problem-solving skills reduces recidivism and criminal behaviour in individuals at high risk for recidivism. The hypothesis rests on several underlying assumptions: social problem-solving skills are associated with social competence; offenders are likely to manifest deficits in social problem-solving skills; and social problem-solving skills mediate social competence and criminal behaviour in offender groups.

The project, funded by the US Department of Education, emerges from and extends the database and knowledge described in the following literature review.

Social problem-solving skills are associated with social competence

Evidence clearly indicates that individuals whose social cognitive processes are characteristically ineffective are more likely viewed as maladjusted, socially incompetent, or abnormal. Inability to cope effectively with the demands and challenges of daily social life not only impairs social goal attainment but results in untoward negative consequences for the individual. Indeed, there has been considerable support for hypothesizing that deficiencies in social problem-solving skills often lead to emotional and behavioural disorders requiring treatment (e.g., D'Zurilla and Goldfried 1971; Larson and Gerber 1987; Larson 1988a; Meijers 1978).

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Problem solving is defined as a process that allows an individual to generate potentially effective alternative responses and to choose an effective response based on the requirements of the social situation. Several studies have shown that deficits in social problem-solving skills and the relationship of these deficiencies to social maladjustment cannot be explained by other variables such as socioeconomic class, intelligence, gender, or ability to comprehend social situations (Kazdin, 1985).

Conducting an extensive program of research, Spivack, Platt, and Shure (1982) report that, compared to normal peers, and when IQ and verbal fluency were held constant, socially maladjusted populations of all ages were consistently found to be deficient in social problem-solving skills. Spivack and colleagues found that cognitive problem-solving skills such as weighing pros and cons, generating potential solutions, conceptualizing a step-by-step process to a goal, and perceiving a situation from another's perspective were deficient in drug addict, psychiatric, and "poorly self-regulated" populations. Males with problem-solving deficits were found to generate more anti-social ideas than males with high problem-solving skills (Platt and Siegel 1976).

Adolescents with learning problems, who as a population are at greater risk for committing crimes and for incarceration (e.g., Kelitz and Dunivant 1986; Larson 1988a), are also reported to have significant difficulties in a variety of social problem-solving skills such as interpreting the mood and communication of others (e.g., Kronick 1978; Lerner 1981); generating and choosing quality social solutions (e.g., Larson and Gerber 1987); predicting and evaluating social consequences (Hazel, Schumaker, Sherman, and Sheldon 1982); interpreting social situations (e.g., Pearl and Cosden 1982); taking the perspective of others (e.g., Bachara 1976); and controlling impulsive behaviour (e.g., Hallahan, Kauffman, and Lloyd 1985).

Offenders are likely to manifest social problem-solving deficits

Offenders, a heterogeneous population, are consistently found to demonstrate deficiencies in social problem-solving skills. Social problem-solving deficits have also been associated with career criminal behaviour and recidivism (Ross and Fabiano 1985). Offenders are reported to have difficulties with a variety of social problem-solving skills such as the ability to take the perspective of others (e.g., Chandler 1973; Little 1979), impulse control (e.g., White 1965), and ability to generate multiple and effective solutions (e.g., Freedman et al. 1978; Larson 1985). Problem-solving deficiencies in interpreting the intentions and actions of others have been associated with delinquent behaviour (Ellis 1982). Jesness (1971) reported that 54% of 1,173 youthful offenders had difficulty with social problem-solving skills such as planning, problem formulation, predicting consequences, and decision making. Similarly, Schumaker, Hazel, Sherman, and Sheldon (1982) found that adjudicated youth were less skilled than nonadjudicated peers in identifying the problem when presented with social information, generating solutions to a problem, and evaluating and selecting adaptive solutions. Larson and Gerber (1987) reported that both learning disabled and non-learning disabled incarcerated youthful offenders had significant difficulty identifying relevant social variables when presented with problem scenarios.

Self-assessment of problem-solving ability has been postulated as an important problem-solving skill (Flavell 1979). Larson (1985) found that incarcerated chronic youthful offenders were unable to predict accurately their competence for solving specific types of social problems and that male youthful offenders consistently over estimated their ability to generate effective social solutions to specific problems.

Social problem-solving skills mediate social competence and criminal behaviour in offender groups

Current evidence supporting the efficacy of problem-solving training for increasing social competence and/or reducing criminal behaviour in offender groups should be interpreted cautiously. Because it is very difficult to establish and/or maintain experimental integrity when conducting applied research in corrections and criminal justice (Sechrest and Rosenblatt 1987), many of the studies testing the efficacy of problem-solving training lack proper controls for drawing causal inferences about the impact of problem-solving training on criminal behaviour. This author was unable to locate a single study in the literature which controlled for *both* internal and external validity and which tested only the efficacy of problem-solving training. Studies, cited below, typically lack random assignment to treatment and control groups or are limited by other nonequivalent control group designs. Moreover, nearly all problem-solving studies include a multifaceted intervention approach, including family guidance, contingency contracting, physical fitness, and study skills, making it impossible to determine the specific impact, if any, of problem-solving training.

Despite these important limitations, evidence from current studies appears to suggest that training in social problem-solving enhances social behaviour and reduces criminal behaviour in offender groups. For example, problem-solving training *in combination with* other training has been found to significantly reduce re-arrest (e.g., Collingwood, Douds, and Williams 1976) and recommitment (e.g., Ayers, Duguid, Montague, and Wolowidnyk 1980; Platt, Perry, and Metzger 1980; Kloss 1978). Carkuff (1974), reported a thirty-six percent reduction in delinquent recidivism as a result of a multifaceted program including problem-solving training. Feindler, Marriott, and Iwata (1984) found that problem-solving and self-regulation training significantly reduced daily disruptive and aggressive school behaviour in acting-out adjudicated youth.

As noted, because of experimental limitations in problem-solving training studies, it is not possible to rule out the possibility that pre-existing factors in experimental subjects or other types of training account for positive effects attributed to problem-solving training. Consequently, there is a pressing need to extend the current database and test the specific effects of problem-solving training when comparing randomly assigned equivalent experimental and control groups.

One such study was completed by Larson and Gerber (1987). In this study, Larson and Gerber tested the efficacy of problem-solving training for enhancing overt social behaviour in incarcerated chronic youthful offenders. Sixty-eight incarcerated offenders, all of whom were academically low achieving and difficult to manage as rated by institutional teachers, were randomly assigned to one of three groups: problem-solving training, control, and employability/values clarification training. Neither institution staff nor offenders were aware of the subject groups or of the experimental design. Results clearly showed a positive significant impact of the problem-solving training program, Social Thinking Skills (Larson 1988c), on institutional behaviour as measured by quantity of negative behaviour reports, staff case conference ratings of living unit behaviour and rehabilitation achievement goals, and living unit phase level promotions earned. This study supports two hypotheses for inferring the efficacy of social problem-solving training for offenders. Support is provided for concluding that training *only* social problem-solving skills, at least as trained in the Social Thinking Skills program, mediates positive overt social behaviour in offender groups. Additionally, the study supports the hypothesis that social behaviour changes are caused by changes in cognitive problem-solving skills. That is, changes in cognitive problem-solving skills were found to be positively and significantly correlated with changes in offenders' social behaviour. The present study, described in the following text, follows from and extends this 1987 study and was designed to test the efficacy of problem-solving training for parole adjustment in high-risk young adult offenders.

Methods

SUBJECTS

Subjects were drawn from the population of two state correctional institutions for youthful and young adult offenders. Each institution housed approximately 600 young adults between 16 and 22 years of age with an average age of 18 years. Offenders within these institutions had chronic felony histories or were committed for serious offences such as homicide, kidnapping, armed robbery, and aggravated assault. The average confinement time at each institution was eighteen months.

Offenders eligible to participate in the study were systematically selected to define a target group at high risk for recidivism. The subject pool was created from those offenders who met the following criteria: male; reading at sixth grade or below as measured by the Test of Adult Basic Education (1976); of average intelligence as measured by the Cattel Culture Fair Intelligence Test (1961); difficult to teach and manage compared to institution peers as rated by institution teachers using a five-item rating scale; and parolling to the high crime inner-city environment of Los Angeles within the time period of the study. Taken together, these five criteria were assumed to define a high risk for recidivism offender group which was the target group of interest. From this subject pool, a matched pairs pool was created as offenders within the subject pool were matched on variables related to parole adjustment.

The five-item rating scale. Every offender within each institution was assigned the average rating of two correctional teachers using a likert type scale asking the following questions. How much supervision does this individual require? How motivated is this individual? How effective is this individual during social interaction? How skilled is this individual academically? And how difficult is this individual to teach? This rating scale has previously been found to predict offenders with institutional adjustment problems. The average rating across all offenders within each institution was calculated for *each* item of the rating scale. Offenders potentially eligible to participate in this study were those offenders who received ratings at least one standard deviation below the institution average on two or more items.

Matched pairs pool. A relatively small sample size was determined as adequate for hypothesis testing because the study called for tracking subjects on a daily basis over an extended period of time and because, at the outset, it was determined that criteria for concluding socially valid positive effects of training needed to be definitive and practical and not an artifact of a large sample size. With small sample sizes, random assignment cannot be assumed to equate the experimental and control groups on predictor variables, in this case, probability of successful parole adjustment. Consequently, eligible offenders were first matched on variables related to parole success and then randomly assigned to groups. Based on the conclusions of Pritchard (1979) in a review of 71 studies, as well as regression analyses by the California Youth Authority (Wiederanders, Cross-Drew, and True 1981), offenders within the subject pool were matched on sex, institution, age at release to parole, history of alcohol/drug use, quantity of prior state correctional commitments, reading level, intelligence, and parole community. These pre-parole variables have been found to be the most consistent predictors of recidivism. Sixty-seven per cent of the final pairs were of the same race and another 22% were Hispanic/black pairs. After offenders were matched, members of each pair were randomly assigned to the experimental or control group. Using these selection methods, twelve pairs were identified to constitute the matched pairs pool.

Final subject groups. When one or both members of a pair in the matched pairs pool was denied parole, released without parole, and/or released out of the targeted geographical area, the pair was deemed ineligible to participate in the study. Three pairs were ultimately eliminated from the paired pool. The final groups consisted of nine of the original randomly assigned matched pairs or a total of 18 subjects. See Table 1 for demographic characteristics of each group.

Design

The experiment was a matched pairs, randomly assigned control and experimental group, long-term follow-up design. Subjects and institution staff were blind to groups, design and dependent variables. The control subjects participated in the same institution and parole programs as the experimental subjects *except* they did not receive problem-solving training. Subjects were tracked daily for fifteen months after release.

TABLE 1. DEMOGRAPHICS OF MATCHED EXPERIMENTAL AND CONTROL GROUPS

		EXPERIMENTAL		CONTROL	
		N	%	*N*	%
RACE	BLACK	6	67	4	44
	WHITE	1	11	0	0
	HISPANIC	2	22	5	56
ALCOHOL/DRUG-RELATED CRIME	YES	6	67	5	56
	NO	3	33	4	44
SPECIAL EDUCATION	YES	2	22	3	33
	NO	7	78	6	67
		MEAN	SD	MEAN	SD
AGE AT PAROLE		19.00	1.20	18.80	.77
NUMBER OF DAYS OF RECENT INCARCERATION		756.00	288.00	701.00	333.00
CONFINEMENT TIME LEFT AT PAROLE		743.00	401.00	841.00	464.00
NUMBER OF PRIOR COMMITMENTS		1.11	.78	1.44	.73
NUMBER OF PREVIOUS CONVICTIONS		2.11	1.62	2.67	1.50
AGE AT FIRST KNOWN OFFENCE		13.22	1.48	13.22	1.56
AGE OF FIRST STATE COMMITMENT		17.37	.56	16.60	.95
READING LEVEL		5.16	1.48	5.50	1.55
MATH LEVEL		5.46	1.04	5.54	1.58
SPELLING LEVEL		5.80	3.29	3.91	.95
INTELLIGENCE (CATTEL)		94.56	6.8	90.00	5.12

Procedures

TRAINING

Problem-solving training had three phases. The *skill acquisition phase* was provided in the institution education unit by correctional educators who were trained to teach the Social Thinking Skills program. The *skill maintenance phase* was provided in small groups by living unit staff trained to conduct the Social Thinking Skills follow-up training. The *skill transfer phase* was provided during parole by the researcher and assistants.

Skill acquisition training. Experimental subjects as well as other offenders not participating in the study were assigned by the institution to the Social Thinking Skills problem-solving training classes. Training focussed on three problem-solving skills. First, offenders were taught to covertly cue themselves to control impulsive reactions before responding to a social risk situation where impulsive responding might cause danger, harm, or rule/law violation. Second, offenders were taught to identify salient "self" and "other" variables relevant to social situations and how to evaluate these variables as a means of assessing problem difficulty and discriminating potential response requirements. Third, offenders were taught a nine-step problem-solving strategy for effectively using relevant social information, for decision making, and for maintaining persistence to goal attainment.

Training consisted of forty-six scripted, direct instruction training lessons with accompanying vocabulary and application activity worksheets. All skill acquisition training was done in a large group (seventeen students as part of the regular education program) and completed in eight to ten weeks. For a more comprehensive description of the training, see Larson 1988b.

Skill maintenance training. Maintenance training served formally to review problem-solving skills through specific training activities and informally to reinforce offenders' use of the skills through group sharing of experiences in applying the problem-solving skills within the institution setting. Offenders met weekly in small groups for maintenance training. Some offenders received only a few maintenance training sessions prior to parole whereas other offenders received up to six maintenance sessions.

Skill transfer training. This was considered a critical component of the problem-solving training program. Transfer training consisted of meeting with the offender weekly during the first two months of parole as a regular component of his required parole agent interview, and then gradually phasing out the problem-solving meetings as the offender was increasingly able to cope. To reimburse offenders for bus fares and lunch, they were paid ten dollars for each session attended. During the fifteen-month post-release period, average monthly meetings with experimental offenders ranged from 1.0 to 2.6 meetings per month. Offenders were also encouraged to telephone their problem-solving counsellors as needed.

The skill transfer training was not merely a "rap" session or discussion of current problems. The meeting time, which lasted approximately thirty minutes, was quite structured. Worksheets focussed the offenders' attention and served to help the offender devise a plan of action for handling current problems. During a given session, the offender engaged in the following activities:

- identified and recorded accomplished goals and positive behaviour indicators;
- identified and recorded failed goal attainment and negative behaviour indicators;
- identified current and potential problem(s);
- analyzed his problem(s) using the Social Thinking Skills vocabulary and problem-solving steps;
- specified a plan of action;
- using a personal calendar, developed a sequential action-plan with specific dates for goal activities during the next week or month; and
- identified pitfalls or things that could interfere with the action-plan, and identified specific behaviours for handling the pitfalls.

When appropriate, offenders role-played relevant verbal behaviour they planned to use in solving their problem. Because worksheets were saved and referred to in subsequent parole sessions, they served to clarify and set expectations. Most sessions focussed on problems involving family/living arrangements, legal issues and parole agent relationships, handling homeboy gang members, obtaining a job or job training, initiating new friendships, and finding appropriate leisure time activities.

Parole supervision for control and experimental pairs. Because their home community was targeted as high crime, both control and experimental subjects received, as a regular part of state parole services, intensive parole supervision during their first three months of parole. Intensive parole supervision consisted of required weekly meetings with the parole agent, monthly case reviews, and frequent drug testing. Employment counsellors were provided as needed. Experimental and control subjects were assigned to the same agent in one of five parole offices. Parole agents were blind to subject groups and were told that the target offender (whether a control or experimental group member) was participating in the problem-solving project and would therefore be seen by researchers as requested. Agents were also requested to complete periodic rating evaluations of all control and experimental parolees. Agents were aware that some parolees were seen more frequently by researchers. Researchers were also seeing another cohort of parolees not related to the present study. This activity served to control bias by "confusing" parole agents as to which parolees were in which group. Supervising parole agents monitored experimental and control subjects similarly through interviews, crime reports, drug testing, and goal attainment checks. Control and experimental subjects were seen by parole agents during parole approximately the same number of times and had access to the same services. The central difference between the two groups' parole supervision was that parole interviews for experimental subjects were highly structured and oriented towards problem-solving action-plans.

DEPENDENT VARIABLES

Multiple measures of parole adjustment included assessing prosocial as well as antisocial behaviour. Data assessing parole adjustment came from three sources: parolee interviews, parole agent case review summaries, and police/parole files. Parole interview data and parole agent case review data will be reported in a separate study emphasizing qualitative, case history analysis of experimental outcomes. The present article will describe prosocial and antisocial behaviour as measured by researchers and recorded in parole files and in the California Bureau of Criminal Identification and Investigation.

Number of charges/arrest incidents. As a measure of chronicity of anti-social/criminal behaviour during the first fifteen months after release, charges, convictions and arrest incidents were counted as recorded in police, parole, and state crime files.

Number of good street, jail, AWOL, and recommitment days. Each subject was evaluated daily for fifteen months in terms of his offender status. Parole agent records were used as data sources.

Prosocial street days. As an index of social productivity, when a subject was on "good street-time" (i.e., not incarcerated and not AWOL), he was evaluated daily in terms of work or school attendance. Parole agent records, schools, employer records, and subject interviews were used as data sources.

State and county supervision/detention costs. During the first fifteen months after release, all state costs and county jail costs for each subject were calculated. These included costs for parole supervision, group homes, halfway houses, jail confinements, jail holds/temporary detentions, specialized counselling, and long-term recommitments. Costs for these services were obtained from the chief accountant of the California Youth Authority.

Results

Although the sample size was relatively small, there were several reasons why parametric as opposed to nonparametric data analysis procedures were chosen as the most appropriate method for detecting differences between control and experimental groups. First, t-tests are extremely robust and, in practice, there are small effects on conclusions even when a normal distribution cannot be met with small sample sizes (Hays 1981). Second, and most importantly, as previously stated a decision was made at the outset to infer positive treatment effects only if group differences were significant from both a statistical and practical point of view. In using parametric t-tests with small samples the power to detect differences between groups is greatly reduced. Thus, if in the present study statistical differences were found between the groups, then these differences could be assumed to be clear and true and not artifacts of the data.

When the study was terminated, one experimental subject had been released to parole for only twelve months and another experimental subject had died from accidental causes during his seventh month of parole. Neither of these subjects had served time in jail while on parole, both had weekly "clean" drug tests, one had worked 92% of the time since parole and the other had worked 33% of the time. In all but the arrest-to-street-time rates, lacking data from these subjects worked *against* detecting treatment effects in the statistical tests because the experimental group's average or accumulated totals were reduced.

Number of charges and arrest incidents. Because of plea bargaining and other bases for altering or dismissing charges, arrests and not convictions were considered the most accurate indicators of actual community behaviour (Blumstein and Cohen, 1979). Parolees in the control group accumulated twenty-one charges in sixteen arrest incidents resulting in detention. Experimental parolees accumulated ten charges in nine arrest incidents resulting in detention. All control subjects were arrested at least once whereas three (33%) of the experimental subjects were *never* arrested. These data do not, however, reflect the relationship of arrest frequency to street-time (street days plus AWOL days), a critical indicator of antisocial behaviour. The arrest-to-street-time rate was .013 (SD = .007) for the control group ($N = 9$) and .005 (SD = .005) for the experimental group ($N = 9$). This difference was statistically significant with a paired $t(8) = 2.404$, $p < .043$.

Four parolees (44%) in the control group were charged with violent or potentially violent crimes (i.e., possession of a weapon, armed robbery, robbery, assault) and one parolee (11%) in the experimental group was so charged (assault). In both groups, offenders were charged with parole violations when their urine tested positive for cocaine or marijuana. Seven parolees (78%) in the control group had at least one positive drug test and two experimental parolees (22%) had at least one positive drug test.

Number of good street, AWOL, jail, and recommitment days. There were significant differences between the two groups in both quantity and quality of street-time accumulated after release to the community. Of central importance was the finding that the experimental group had a marked reduction in recidivism (a 56% reduction if the AWOL subject is counted as recidivating or a 67% reduction if the AWOL subject is not counted as a recidivist). At twelve months as well as at fifteen months after release to parole, all control subjects were incarcerated. Eight control subjects (89%) had been recommitted to a state facility for at least one additional year and one was in county jail awaiting trial. At twelve months after release to parole, two of the experimental subjects (22%) had been recommitted to a state facility for at least one year, one (11%) was AWOL, and one (11%) was deceased. At fifteen months after release, two (22%) experimental subjects were recommitted, one (11%) was AWOL, one (11%) was deceased, and one (11%), as noted, had been paroled only twelve months.

The average number of good street days (i.e., excluding AWOL days) for the control group ($N = 9$) was 127.56 days (SD = 74.42) and for the experimental group ($N = 9$) 266.00 days (SD = 135.75). This difference was statistically significant, with a paired $t\ (8) = 3.97$, $p < .005$.

The average number of incarceration days (i.e., jail days + recommitment days) for the control group was 313.66 days (SD = 84.19) and for the experimental group 87.44 days (SD = 43.69). This difference was statistically significant, with a paired $t\ (8) = 4.36$, $p < .002$. Figures 1 and 2 depict group status (AWOL, jail, good street days, recommitment) at each three-month interval during fifteen months.

Prosocial street days. Proportion of non-fugitive or good street days (i.e., excluding AWOL days) attending school/vocational training or work was calculated to measure social productivity. The within-group

Fig. 1. Experimental Group Parole Adjustment

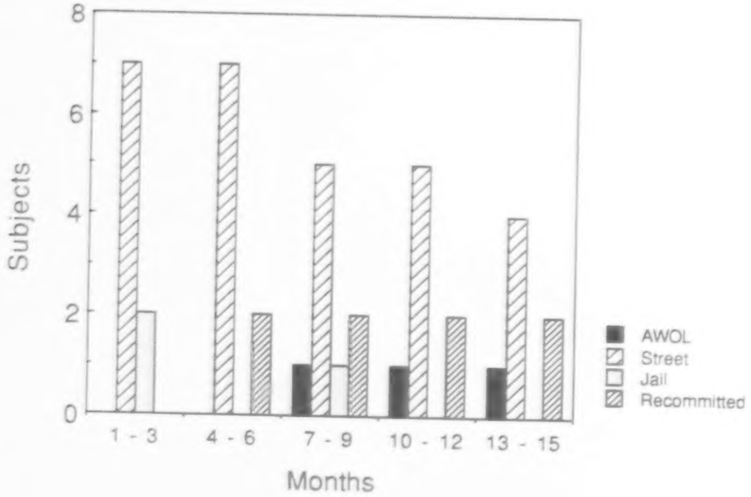
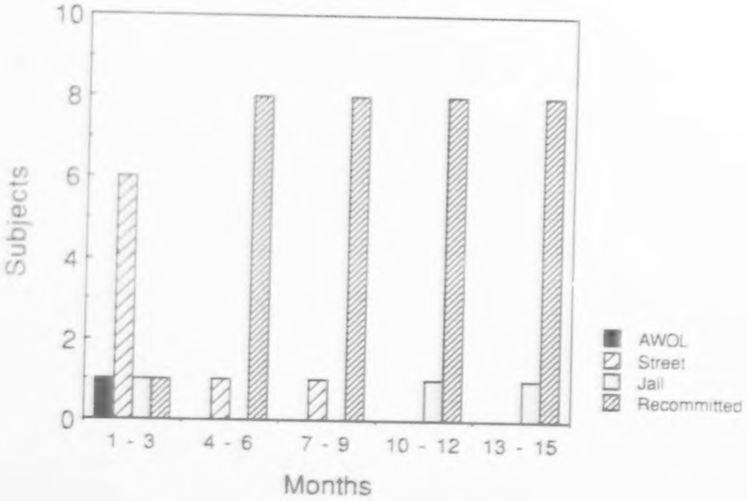


Fig. 2. Control Group Parole Adjustment



variance of prosocial days was great for both groups with three control and one experimental subject contributing absolutely no prosocial days while living in the community. As a group, the control subjects ($N = 9$) contributed 187 work days and 10 school days during fifteen months and the experimental group ($N = 9$) contributed 366 work days and 404 school days during fifteen months. The groups were compared on proportion of non-fugitive street days spent working or attending vocational school. In this regard, the experimental subjects were markedly more prosocial than control subjects. The difference was statistically significant with a paired $t\ (8) = 2.574$, $p < .03$.

State and county supervision/detention costs. Costs for supervising and detaining parolees during the fifteen months after release to parole were divided into parole supervision costs, jail detainment costs, and long-term commitment costs. Parole supervision costs included all costs borne by the state while the parolee lived in the community. These included parole agent services as well as costs for placement in group homes/halfway houses, drug treatment programs, contracted counselling services and so forth. Temporary confinement/detainment costs were assumed by the state when a parolee was placed in jail by parole services for temporary detention or for parole violations. The county assumed costs if the parolee was arrested and detained for other reasons. Long-term commitment was borne by the state when a parolee was recommitted to a state facility. For the subjects in this study, all recommitments were for at least one year. The difference in costs to public agencies for supervising/incarcerating experimental and control groups during the fifteen months after release to parole was statistically significant with a paired $t\ (8) = 3.30$, $p < .01$. Agency costs for supervising experimental parolees during fifteen months after release were less than half of the costs for supervising control parolees. Table 2 lists total agency costs and subcosts accumulated by each group.

Discussion

Data clearly support the hypothesis that social problem-solving training can reduce recidivism and criminal behaviour in high-risk young adult offenders. Social problem-solving training, as specified in the Social Thinking Skills program, was found to reduce substantially criminal and antisocial behaviour and to increase socially productive behaviour during fifteen months after release to parole. On every measure of criminal and prosocial community behaviour, the experi-

TABLE 2. STATE AGENCIES' COSTS
DURING FIFTEEN MONTHS AFTER RELEASE TO PAROLE

	EXPERIMENTAL	CONTROL
PAROLE SUPERVISION	$ 45,663	$ 16,844
TEMPORARY CONFINEMENT AND JAIL	21,704	43,813
RECOMMITMENT	20,835	119,066
TOTAL COSTS	$ 88,202	$ 179,723
MEAN	$ 9,800	$ 19,969
STANDARD DEVIATION	7,396	8,187
MEDIAN	7,426	23,476

NOTE

The between-groups comparison is statistically significant $p < .01$

mental subjects performed significantly better than matched control subjects who had not received problem-solving training. Moreover, the problem-solving training translated directly to significant reductions in costs to state and county correctional agencies during the fifteen months after parolees were released to their communities.

Offenders participating in this study were specifically targeted as high risk for recidivism. Participants were characterized by institution staff as some of the most difficult offenders to manage and teach within the institution population. They had long histories of delinquency and exceedingly poor literacy skills. That the problem-solving training had such a marked impact on recidivism and community adjustment, despite the fact that participants were paroled back to inner-city, high crime, active gang neighbourhoods is a very hopeful finding and attests to the potency of training specific social problem-solving skills.

It is important to emphasize that training in this study was both complex and intense with specifically designed *skill content* as well as specifically planned *skill generalization programming*. Stokes and Baer (1977) discuss the fallacy of the "train and hope" method of social skills intervention which fails to program actively for generalization or transfer of skills to new and different situations. "Train and hope" methods focus on social skill acquisition and overlook skill maintenance, transfer, and generalization. Unfortunately, "train and hope" has been and is currently the most typical method in corrections. Yet, maintenance, generalization, and transfer of skill may be the quintessence of correctional rehabilitation. Inadequate generalization programming undoubtedly accounts for high recidivism rates as much as does irrelevant or inappropriate training content.

The results obtained in this study are clearly positive and hopeful. Nevertheless, one is compelled to ask whether the "treatment" is feasible and practical given current constraints on fiscal resources, overcrowding, and so forth. Indeed, the study was designed to test the notion that correctional systems can *now*, with relatively minor but particular adjustments in what already takes place as a regular part of institutional/parole activities, provide *both* effective social skill content and effective social skill generalization training. Data from this study support an affirmative conclusion. All aspects of training in the present study were specifically designed to accommodate constraints and use characteristics of typical correctional facilities and parole services, and as such the project validates and supports the feasibility of a skill acquisition and skill generalization approach to offender social skill rehabilitation.

During the three years of conducting this project, the author interviewed dozens of correctional workers representing education, living unit, security, administration, and parole services. From these interviews have emerged several recommendations for implementing correctional social skill education which includes both skill acquisition and skill generalization training.

Social skill acquisition training is generally most logically provided by correctional educators who are presumably trained in direct instruction methods. This implies that training materials must be "user friendly" to educators with specific daily lesson plans including, if possible, a scripted text and learner evaluation procedures. The training must be easily integrated into a variety of correctional education schedules, although continuity and momentum, critical factors for maximizing learning, require at least tri-weekly learning sessions for skill acquisition at mastery level. The instructional activities must be designed for group learning and the training materials should serve to enhance literacy skills as well as to teach the targeted social skills.

Social skill maintenance or follow-up training must be designed so that, with minimal personnel training, any of a variety of professional or paraprofessional institutional staff (or volunteers or perhaps even other inmates) can provide specific follow-up training. Social skill maintenance training is usually most appropriately provided in small groups; however, it may also be effective to provide individualized social skill maintenance training through computer or workbook activities. The follow-up training should be structured and formal and, in the case of group training, a specifically scripted session-by-session facilitator manual ensures effective review of targeted skills. Almost all institutions provide, in both evening and day programs, a variety of small group activities. Many of these on-going activities can be modified to provide specific follow-up training if the content of social skill training overlaps or interfaces with the focus of the small group activity. Finding or "creating" such overlap is easier than it may at first appear. This is especially true in problem-solving training because application of problem-solving skills can be easily focussed to address ongoing areas of rehabilitation such as substance abuse, family relationships, community living, employment, commitment offence, and so forth. For example, the social problem-solving training in the current project was integrated into ongoing evening small groups conducted by living unit staff.

For nearly all offenders, maximizing social skill transfer and generalization requires skill reinforcement during parole, especially during the first three to six months. Transfer training, with mandatory parolee attendance, can be provided by either parole services or by other community agencies. In the case of social problem-solving training, it appears to be important that the parole agent is involved with reinforcing the targeted problem-solving skills.

Parole agents have the opportunity to observe and know ex-offenders in their actual living environment and family/work circumstances. Consequently, problem solving can be a natural structure for interviewing/counselling a parolee. To reinforce problem-solving skills and to increase an ex-offender's community coping, parole agents are encouraged to structure the time they see parolees into problem-solving sessions which result in time-specific parolee generated action-plans. These action-plans are useful for tracking a parolee's progress toward targeted goals. Negative and positive contingencies can also be tied to action-plan accomplishments.

Based on experience from the present project, parole agents, with about thirty hours of training, can learn how to manage caseloads to reinforce specific problem-solving skills. The cost for such training can be easily justified according to the data from this study. Indeed, data show that it is not only efficacious in terms of criminal deterrence but also very cost effective for parole services to reinforce formally social problem-solving skills that institutional staff have helped offenders acquire. For example, in this study, control and experimental parolees experienced the same frequency of parole agent contact, yet differences between the groups in recidivism and other measures of criminality were startling. Although control parolees were provided with intensive supervision services during their first three months of parole, at the end of three months 30% of these young men were recommitted and by the fifth month 89% were recommitted. Thus, these data strongly suggest that frequency of contact by parole agents is *not* necessarily a primary contributing factor to reduction in criminal behaviour. *Quality* of contact time, i.e., what takes place during the contact, seems to be as or more important than frequency of contact.

Many corrections professionals will not be surprised that positive results were obtained in this training project which systematically used effective content in combination with effective training methods. However, for better or worse, the key concern and roadblock to reform is a much more practical issue than establishing the existence of effective content and methods. "Can we do it with what we've got?" is always the salient issue. Experience and results from this study support a resounding "Yes!"

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YEARBOOK OF CORRECTIONAL EDUCATION

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MARK S. HAMM is Associate Professor of Criminology at Indiana State University and a former guard, teacher, and administrator of the Arizona Department of Corrections. He is the author of *Heroin Addiction, Anomie, and Social Policy in the United States and Britain* (American Academy of Higher Education 1986), and *The Abandoned Ones: A Study of the Cuban Prison Riots at Oakdale and Atlanta*, which is currently under review. Dr Hamm is also the author of a number of scholarly articles on drug policy and prison reform. He serves as Co-Chair of the Indiana Criminal Justice Research and Information Consortium, and is a member of the Governor's Task Force on Mental Health in Corrections. He is the recipient of the 1988 Outstanding Professional Paper Award from the Midwestern Criminal Justice Association and Editorial Board Member of *The Journal of Correctional Education*. His current research interests are in the areas of peacemaking, domestic violence, and criminal justice ethics.

TED A. HOFFERTH coordinates and teaches the Chapter 1 Program at the Westville Correctional Center in Westville, Indiana. He has taught in the public school system and in correctional education for the past thirteen years. He has his Bachelor's degree in Education and his Master's degree in Educational Administration. Mr Hofferth has been involved in at-risk programming since 1982, speaking to interested community groups and providing schools with in-service programs involving teaching techniques and methods for working with at-risk students.

ROBERT G. HUCKABEE is Assistant Professor in the Criminology Department at Indiana State University, Terre Haute, Indiana. His research interests include crime victimization and criminal justice history. He is a member of the Midwestern Criminal Justice Association, American Correctional Association, and Indiana Academy of the Social Sciences, where he serves on the Board of Directors.

NORMAN A. JEPSON is Emeritus Professor of Adult Education at the University of Leeds, England. He was Head of the Department of Adult Education from 1969 to 1983, a department which, for more than fifty years, has had a close relationship with the British Prison Service both with respect to the training of prison staff and the provision of university education for prisoners. For two periods, one in the 1960s and the other in the mid-1980s, Professor Jepson was Adviser on Studies to the Prison Service College. Recently, in cooperation with Mr K. Elliott, he published a survey on shared working between prison officers and probation officers in penal establishments in England and Wales. He has been closely involved in current discussions within the Prison Service about "A Sense of Direction," seeking to clarify the aims of imprisonment, and in promoting a closer relationship between the Prison Service and the Open University, particularly in respect to staff education and training.

WAYNE KNIGHTS is presently teaching Modern European History at the University of Victoria, British Columbia, while attempting to finish his dissertation in the field of Modern French Intellectual History. He reached this sorry state by committing himself to the philanthropic pedagogy required by instructors and program coordinators in the Simon Fraser University Prison Education Program. After a short period of renewal, he expects to find himself re-committed. He is married with children; he can't afford hobbies.

CHARLIE LANIER, an incarcerated father, has never spent a free day with his daughter who was born several months after his imprisonment. Out of his struggle to maintain a close and healthy relationship with his daughter, and a desire to help other similarly concerned parents, he was instrumental in initiating the Eastern Fathers' Group, an educational and mutual support group for incarcerated fathers. Mr Lanier holds degrees in Political Science from Marist College, New York, and in Sociology from the State University of New York at New Paltz. He is presently writing a book about incarcerated fathers and expects to enter the SUNY Albany doctoral program in criminal justice in 1990.

KATHERINE A. LARSON is a research scholar in Education at the University of California at Santa Barbara. She has fifteen years teaching experience with adolescents and young adults in special and correctional education settings. Since 1983, Dr Larson has taught problem solving to urban Los Angeles youth paroled from the California Youth Authority. Currently, she serves on the Editorial Board of *The Journal of Correctional Education* and has published and presented extensively on correctional education and criminal justice. In 1988, she was awarded one of five distinguished scholar fellowships by the US Department of Education, Office of Research and Innovation.

SYLVIA G. McCOLLUM is responsible for the management of a nationwide school system within the United States Federal Prison system. These efforts involve over sixty Federal Prisons, each of which has a principal, approximately 600 professional educators and recreation specialists and five regional education administrators. Programs range from basic literacy through advanced college-level courses, including a wide variety of occupational training programs and a full range of indoor and outdoor physical fitness, recreation and leisure activities. Ms McCollum joined the Bureau of Prisons as an education specialist in 1967 and was appointed Education Administrator in 1975. She completed her undergraduate work at Hunter College in New York City, and her Master's degree at George Washington University in Washington, D.C. Ms McCollum has published widely in the field of labour-management relations, correctional and adult education, and human concerns for offenders.

KATHRYN R. MONACO has a law degree and extensive experience with corrections in New Mexico. She was Deputy Secretary for the New Mexico Corrections Department and is currently a criminal justice public policy consultant. Ms Monaco serves as a consultant to state government regarding prison overcrowding; her primary focus is on alternatives to prison. She is a Special Master to Federal District Court Judge June Green regarding prison conditions in the Lorton Central Prison in the District of Columbia.

LUCIEN MORIN is Professeur de philosophie de l'éducation, Université Laval, Québec. He is the author of over fifty articles on topics including the philosophy of education, values, ethics, justice, violence, creativity, the philosophy of science, prison education, human rights, bio-ethics, desire, peace, etc. Professor Morin has served on a number of prison-related committees, most notably those of the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (OISE) and the United Nations Committee on Crime Prevention and Control. Educated at St John's College (Maine), Université Laval, Université de Caen, and Stanford University, Professor Morin's publications include *On Prison Education*, *Violence et Vérité*, and *Urgence de la philosophie*.

KENNETH NEALE, OBE, FSA, was born in London in 1922 and works as a consultant, author, and lecturer. His career includes periods in the United Kingdom Colonial Office, Diplomatic Service, and the Home Office. He also served in the Royal Navy in the Second World War. During his Home Office service (1967–82), Mr Neale was a member of the Prisons Board from 1967–69 and 1976–82. In the international field, he was UK Representative on the European Committee on Crime Problems (1976–84); Chairman of the European Committee for Cooperation in Prison affairs (1981–84); Chairman of the European Select Committee on Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners (1978–80); and UK correspondent to the United Nations on the Treatment of Prisoners (1978–82). He currently works as Prison Service College consultant in developing Prison Studies at Cambridge University and the Open University. Mr Neale's published works in the penological field include *Her Majesty's Commissioners 1878-1978* [penal administration in England and Wales] (1978), *Managing Work in Prison Regimes* (Council of Europe 1976), and *Strategies for Education in Prison Regimes* (Open University 1986).

JOHN NIEMI is Professor and Chair of the Graduate Program in Adult and Continuing Education at Northern Illinois University. He has just completed a term as Chair of the Commission of Professors of Adult Education. His major areas of interest are Human Resource Development (HRD) and Adult Basic Education (ABE). In the mid-1970s, Dr Niemi served as Associate Director of the ERIC Clearinghouse on Career Education. Over the years, he has been a consultant to university adult education programs in the US, Canada, and Finland. In 1981, he was a Fulbright Professor of Adult Education at the University of Helsinki and has since been awarded an honorary doctorate by that institution for his contributions to international adult education. Dr

Niemi has served as adviser to a number of education and training programs in the prisons and several of his former students work in correctional education. Among the books from Dr Niemi's very extensive list of publications are *Recruiting and Training Volunteers* (with Paul Ilsley), *Adult Education and the Disadvantaged Adult* (with Darrell Anderson), and *Technologies and Learning outside the Classroom* (with Dennis Gooler).

DARRELL L. ROSS is the Training/Technical Assistance Coordinator for the Criminal Justice Institute, Ferris State University, Big Rapids, Michigan. There his duties have included the development, research, advertising, and coordination of training programs designed for law enforcement and correctional personnel. The Institute also provides technical assistance for criminal justice agencies. Mr Ross has a BA and MSc in Criminal Justice from Michigan State University and is presently a doctoral candidate in Higher Education Administration at Michigan State University. His past work experience is as a correctional officer, probation agent, and training officer with the Michigan Department of Corrections.

T.A. RYAN is Director of Criminal Justice Planning, Implementation, and Evaluation, and Professor at the University of South Carolina. Dr Ryan has extensive experience in correctional education in the areas of vocational and academic programs, special needs education, social education, and post-secondary education. She is the recipient of numerous awards and citations for her work in the fields of criminal justice and juvenile justice. As the director of one of America's leading public service programs in corrections and juvenile justice, Dr Ryan has been instrumental in providing technical assistance, staff training, and research and evaluation programs for federal, state or provincial, and local correctional agencies and institutions in the United States and Canada. She is widely published and holds a PhD from Stanford University.

SHEILA O. SCHREIBER has a doctorate in American Studies from the University of New Mexico. She is currently Director of Corrections Education for Santa Fe Community College, and administers eighteen vocational and career training programs for adult inmates at four correctional institutions in New Mexico. Dr Schreiber is a member of the New Mexico Council on Vocational Education, and the Ad Hoc Task Force on Correctional Education.

J. STEVEN SMITH teaches and conducts research into correctional policies and practices for both adults and juveniles. Prior to his return to graduate study, he was Chief Executive Officer of a statewide childcare agency in the Southwest. He trained at the Menninger Foundation, Topeka, Kansas, and the National Center for Community Action, Washington, D.C.

Correctional Education Association

The Correctional Education Association (CEA) is a non-profit, professional association serving the needs and interests of educators and administrators who provide services to students in correctional settings. CEA is the largest affiliate of the American Correctional Association, with members throughout the United States, Canada, and overseas.

Institute for the Humanities

The Simon Fraser University Prison Education Program is closely affiliated with the teaching, research, and publications programs of the Institute for the Humanities. Devoted to the exploration of critical perspectives relating social concerns to the cultural and historical legacy of the Humanities, the Institute has published several correctional education-related books in recent years. These include *Readings in Critical Thought and Cultural Literacy*, *Of Books and Bars: An Annotated Bibliography of Prison Education*, and *Prison Journal*.

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